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THE WINE OF VIOLENCE
An Anthology on Anti-Semitism

The Wine of Violence

An Anthology on Anti-Semitism



NATHAN ZUCKERMAN

FOR THEY EAT THE BREAD OF WICKEDNESS
AND THE WINE OF VIOLENCE DO THEY DRINK
Proverbs IV:17

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Jo

MY FATHER AND MOTHER

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New York, 1947

NATHAN ZUCKERMAN

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INDIVIDUALS

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INTRODUCTION

ANTI-SEMITISM IS AN INSTITUTION, unique in character, organized, "scientific." Its ritual of hate has penetrated deeply into the collective body politic of nations. For hundreds of years it has been an expensive, intoxicating luxury, which mankind could ill afford. It has served as a demoralizing drug, infecting the masses and inflaming them against the Jewish minority.

Countless words have been written upon the subject, certainly more than one person could possibly read in a lifetime. Sages and fools, saints and vicious men have searched the obscure and more accessible works of those who have dwelt on the problem, absorbing, recording, and disseminating the portions that best suited their purposes, exploiting to their own ends, for good or evil, the words of the philo- or anti-Semite.

Men of every age and tongue have documented for posterity their opinions on the nature of anti-Semitism, its causes, and the practical steps to be taken to resolve it. They have probed into the effects which this deeply-rooted dislike for the Jew has had, both upon the persecuted and the persecutor; the psychological and emotional devices which have been resorted to in the dreary history of anti-Semitism to make its destructiveness more effective; the relationship between the alleged causes and the "stirring-up" techniques in use in earlier times and the methods in use today. These men, some wise, some not so wise, some world-renowned, others obscure, have attempted to bring to the Jew courage and comfort, have tried through divers means to bridge the gap which separates the Jew and the bigoted non-Jew. Every specific in the pharmacopoeia of antidotes for Judeophobia has been recommended at some time or another. Most of them have been suggested in good faith by those who have shuddered with shame because of the degradation to which the Jew has been subjected. Believing steadfastly in the godly dictum of "love thy neighbor," they knew that civilization could not truly call itself civilized while any people were being beaten and persecuted, driven from land to land, branded as the eternal scapegoat.

Jewish writers and thinkers have also written prolifically on the subject, attempting to analyze and explain the whys and wherefores

of anti-Semitism; to give courage and strength to their own people; to give meaning and content to the Jewish life in the Diaspora.

As thinking, rational beings, we rebel against the thought that we cannot live in peace and harmony. We feel it cannot be. We wish it not to be. We pride ourselves on being free men. We nourish the cherished notion that our greatest glory is the transmission of this gift of freedom and understanding to our children and to our children's children. We proclaim daily that we are living in a world of freemen, that the millions of Jews, Poles, Czechs, Russians, Americans, and men and women of all of the United Nations whose lives have been snuffed out during these past ten years, have not died in vain; that the free men of all nations fought for their very existence against a brutal and cynical philosophy that would have enslaved all. We know that despite a handful of loud-mouthed, articulate haters who have successfully spread their virus of destruction throughout the world, there are millions of decent, liberal, understanding, socially minded non-Jews who have sacrificed, striven, and prayed for the dawn of a better day—a day of freedom from hate, of liberation from the shackles of mental and moral tyranny, of minority emancipation from the agelong and unnatural strain of scape-goatism.

This is the dream of all men of good will—everywhere. This was the ideal of Hillel two millennia ago when he taught the brotherhood of man:

Do not unto your neighbor what you would not have him do unto you.

That was the dominant theme of the Old Testament:

And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land ye shall not do him wrong. The stranger that sojourneth with thee shall be as the homeborn among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. (LEV. XIX:33)

That too was the ideal of all great spiritual leaders of all ages and of all religions.

The world has waited patiently for a miracle of goodness to occur. But alas! None has. Yet the world has constantly striven, despite periodic reverses, for tolerance and understanding. All this longing for a new day cannot be stifled. A new day will dawn, perhaps not in our lifetime, but, we hope, in our children's lifetime, and with it will come economic justice, social equality, and brotherhood. When that day arrives, it will mean freedom and justice, not only to the Jew, but to all humanity.

This book attempts to break down the problem of anti-Semitism into its significant parts, and to present the thoughts expressed by hundreds of men and women, great and small, on one or another phase of the Jewish problem. The sources used are exclusively those available in English. It attempts to portray anti-Semitism as it has been seen by both Jew and non-Jew—as it has been recorded in books, magazines, pamphlets, speeches, and other writings. The voices of those who have hated and despised the Jews are on record here, too.

One studies the anatomy of anti-Semitism to learn its structure and functions, to see what brought it into being, what "devil's food" keeps it alive. As a scientist looks at his stained bacteria glass under the microscope, so do we in Book I, *Anatomy of Hate*, look at anti-Semitism through the eyes of those who have thought and felt deeply about it.

In the Book of Proverbs we find solemnly written:

Six things there are which the Lord hateth: And seven are an abomination unto his spirit: haughty eyes, a tongue of falsehood, and hands that shed innocent blood, a heart that contriveth plans of injustice, feet that hasten to run after evil, a false witness that eagerly uttereth lies, and he that scattereth abroad discord among brethren.

Despite this Biblical admonition, men professing love of God have frequently been among the first to disregard its clear intent. Since the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D., the Jews have been a nation without a home, living by sufferance until through the extension of freedom in recent times they have been given a measure of freedom. Then, suddenly, the pendulum of democratic progress stopped and swung sharply back. Today the blood-spattered furnaces of Lublin and the unbelievable number of mass-graves of the martyred Jews of Europe repeat the sordid story of carnage and bestiality which threatened to envelop all countries. In Book II, *Martyrdom*, there are presented briefly the laws which from ancient times to the present have chained the Jew to ghettos, compelled him to wear distinctive clothing, expelled him from lands wherein he and his people have lived for centuries, and in more recent times, relegated him to a status of second-class citizenship, deprived of all human rights and protective laws. We encounter the names of the haters, the sowers of discord and death, the makers of the canards, forgeries, and perversions of history that have caused the Jew to become an object of loathing.

In the life of man or nation, there are times when freedom flowers, and the cool, refreshing stream of justice flows unobstructed, if only for brief moments. Jewish history has had its epochs of glory glowing in the light of liberty. The history of freedom has always been like the ebb and flow of the tides—sometimes reaching far onto the beachheads of human progress, at other times drawing back to its source, only to press forward again. Book III, *Beacon Lights*, presents the emancipation of the Jew, which began with the Eighteenth Century. The documents introduce us to distinguished men, non-Jews, who have defended the Jew and by so doing have at the same time strengthened the bonds of democracy. There are also the organizations, religious and secular, that have combated bigotry. Just as the fate of the Jews is intimately bound up with human progress so the degree of a nation's progress can be measured by the status of the Jew. The struggle to grant social and economic equality to the Jew inevitably brings into play the forces which serve the irrepressible desire of the human spirit for freedom.

For centuries alchemists sought the "philosopher's stone," supposed to possess the magic power of transmuting baser metal into gold, or of indefinitely prolonging life. Similarly, through the ages, the search has gone on for the solution to the Jewish question. The efforts have ranged from assimilation to Zionism; from apologetic literature to conversion; from Jewish colonization outside Palestine to legislation outlawing anti-Semitism; from mass protest meetings to the elimination of poverty and slum areas and the raising of living standards; from the establishment of a good public relations committee in every community to identification with every liberal and progressive force fighting to better the lot of men; from improving table manners and having the Jew stay in the background, to a counter-propaganda machine costing millions for the purpose of spreading enlightenment about the Jew. Of course, there are many more, hundreds of them. In Book IV, *Hope Springs Eternal*, are fragments from the literature of these proposed "solutions."

Book V contains quotations from the literature of anti-Semitism among the Negroes. The Negro's natural and legitimate resentment against discriminatory laws and humiliating conditions is easily exploited by Fascist-minded individuals and groups for the purpose of inciting him against the Jew specifically and against democracy in general.

Anti-Semitism among Negroes is a recent phenomenon which cannot be ignored. It is part of the over-all pattern of group prejudice which endangers the relations among our various national cul-

ture-groups. Jewish and Negro leaders, and their organizations and press, have in recent years become acutely aware of this dangerous manifestation, and have given much time and thought to reviewing the problem and attempting to cope with it. This has tended, to a degree, to bring about greater mutual respect and understanding, and to break down the barriers of suspicion. However, much more should be done.

Book VI consists of several bibliographies which should prove of value to the student in the field of anti-Semitism. In addition to a complete index of the authors, there are separate listings of book titles, pamphlets, and leaflet titles, and information on magazine articles that are quoted in this volume. A separate bibliography lists books and articles which have not been quoted but which are worthy of further study.

In the Talmud is recorded the following legend: "Choni, the Maagol, once saw in his travels an old man planting a Carob tree, and he asked him when he thought the tree would bear fruit. 'After 70 years' was the reply. 'What,' said Choni, 'dost thou expect to live seventy years and eat the fruit of thy labor?' The old man then answered: 'I did not find the world desolate when I entered it, and as my fathers planted for me before I was born, so I plant for those that will come after me!'"

Racial and religious tolerance, brotherhood, and understanding are symbolic trees that must be planted and nurtured tenderly for many years if future generations are to live peacefully in their shade.

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Book I

THE ANATOMY OF HATE

CHAPTER I
THE PROBLEM OF ANTI-SEMITISM

A. ITS NATURE

1. A CHRISTIAN PROBLEM

1. It is true that anti-Semitism is as much a Christian problem as it is a Jewish one, spelling the degeneration of Christianity and the denial of the fundamentals of the Christian faith. It is true that war on anti-Semitism is first of all a war for Americanism.

An Editorial

Congress Weekly, December 31, 1943, p. 6

2. . . . Anti-Semitism violates the basic tenets of our religion. . . . The most insidious feature of anti-Semitism is that it so easily becomes habit-forming. . . . Anti-Semitism is . . . *our* problem as Christians and Americans. It cannot be solved for us. You and I must tackle it ourselves. And we should start today.

The Florida Catholic

3. As for its moral characterization from the Catholic viewpoint, anti-Semitism, if it spreads among those calling themselves disciples of Christ, seems to be a pathological phenomenon which indicates a deterioration of Christian conscience when it becomes incapable of accepting its own historic responsibilities and of remaining existentially faithful to the high exigencies of Christian truth.

JACQUES MARITAIN

A Christian Looks at the Jewish Question, p. 41

4. . . . Anti-Semitism . . . has always been intrinsically a disease of Christian nations. . . .

SALO W. BARON

Contemporary Jewish Record, July-August, 1940, p. 359

5. . . . Anti-Semitism is not a Jewish, but a Gentile problem. The Jew can do nothing to alter either the substance or the nature of anti-Semitism. . . . Anti-Semitism is one of those feelings of aloofness, which mankind uses in order to set up a barrier between itself and the ultimate fulfillment of its human obligations.

JOSEF KASTEIN

History and Destiny of the Jews, p. 434

6. The Jewish problem is almost exclusively a Christian problem. It is only in those lands called Christian that anti-Semitism runs riot. . . .

HENRY A. ATKINSON

Congress Weekly, January 8, 1943, p. 7

7. Nazi anti-Semitism is at bottom a furious aversion to the revelation of Sinai and the law of the Decalogue. It is above all, as Maurice Samuel . . . has so well pointed out, a supernatural fear and hate of Christianity. . . . It takes vengeance on the Jews for the Messiah who issued from them. It humiliates and tortures the Jews, seeking to humiliate and torture their Messiah in their flesh; it is essentially a Christophobia.

JACQUES MARITAIN

The Commonweal, June 4, 1943, p. 186

2. ANTI-RELIGIOUS

8. Anti-Semitism is an enemy of Catholicism. . . . Anti-Semitism is unjust, brutal, and opposed to the teachings of Christ.

HANS ANSCAR

The Catholic World, November, 1939, p. 175

9. One cannot review the frightful and foul story of Nazi arrogance without recognizing that this hideous movement is directly and indirectly an attack upon essential religion.

BISHOP RALPH SPAULDING CUSHMAN

Never Again, p. 42

10. Anti-Semitism, like all cruel racial prejudice, is a denial of the basic affirmations of high religion.

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

Equality Magazine, May, 1939, p. 6

11. The persecution of the Jewish race by the Germans and by those associated with them in the present conflict is not simply an instance of brutality caused by the excitement of war—it represents a deliberate policy based on the repudiation of any obligation to deal with the Jewish people as children of the one God, and therefore as men and women who should be treated as brothers. Such an attitude is a repudiation of one of the basic principles of the religion which lies behind our Western Civilization.

HENRY ST. GEORGE TUCKER

Congress Weekly, March 5, 1943, p. 7

12. The recent revival of anti-Semitism is un-Christian, immoral, unpatriotic, and incredibly cruel.

JOHN A. RYAN
New Currents, June, 1943, p. 6

13. . . . Anti-Semitism is not only contrary to the teachings of democracy, but contrary to the teachings of Christ. . . . Anti-Semitism is un-American. . . .

FRANK MURPHY
National Jewish Monthly, June, 1944, p. 321

14. This writer is consistently Catholic in saying: "To be violently anti-Semitic is to be anti-Catholic. No true Catholic will take part in the persecution of his Jewish compatriots. A blow against the Jews is a blow against our common humanity.

EMANUEL CHAPMAN
We Hold These Truths—Statements on Anti-Semitism, p. 34

15. . . . Anti-Semitism . . . is contrary to natural justice, incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and a denial of the Gospel. Malicious gossip and irresponsible charges against the Jews, no less than active persecution, are incompatible with Christian standards of behavior.

An Editorial quoting The British Council of Churches
The Churchman, September 1, 1943

16. Anti-Semitism is one side of a coin on whose reverse is inscribed "No Popery."

The Commonwealth

17. . . . Anti-Semitic propaganda is more than a tirade of invectives against Jews. It is a Trojan Horse tactic employed by force, seeking, either deliberately or through ignorance, to deliver the American way of life into the hands of . . . Fascism. It is an attempt to create division in the body politic, thereby disrupting the unity of the people and shattering the fabric of our democratic society. It is common not only against Jews, but us all. . . .

What we have to realize is that anti-Semitism is not merely an attack upon the presence of the Jew in our national life. It is far more than that. It is an attack on the Semitic, or Judaic tradition, which, through the Old Testament, lies at the root of our Christian civilization. It is this, primarily and essentially, that the modern anti-Semite means when he says that Western culture is a Judaized culture and it is no good telling him that the majority of our schools and colleges, our press, banks, and industries are not, in fact, in the

hands of Jews. True enough the anti-Semite invariably asserts that they are. It is not, however, with his assertions but with their motivation that we ought to be concerned; and their motivation, even though the individual spokesman may be unaware of it, is an ideological attack upon the Old Testament conception of man. It is this which the . . . Fascist philosophy repudiates, and it is this which ultimately conditions the campaign against Jews.

DONALD M. STERLING

Social Action, November, 1940, p. 7, 8, 9

3. MORAL BANKRUPTCY

18. Anti-Semitism has shown itself to be, always and everywhere, intellectual nonsense and moral pestilence. Invented in Germany under Bismarck, and developed by Hitler, it has been used by bullies to rouse mobs to thoughtless and cruel acts. . . .

CARL VAN DOREN

Jewish Survey, May, 1942, p. 7

19. Anti-Semitism is an easy trick even for the most amateur of villains. It is more than a trick. It is an oasis in which saints can disport themselves lecherously, a little world of lunacy in which philosophers can relax, and a prescription for the cure of acne, frost bite, ulcers, and many other diseases.

BEN HECHT

A Guide for the Bedevilled, p. 6

20. Anti-Semitism is a part of the folklore of western civilization. It is not a collection of local eruptions but a persuasive condition of the Western world; and it is as hard to analyze as most folklore.

MAURICE SAMUEL

American Mercury, July, 1941, p. 57

21. It is being realized more and more widely that anti-Semitism is the most blatant outward manifestation of the decadence of Western culture. As Hermann Rauschning has put it: "The evil of the present age has found deep symbolic expression. This expression is anti-Semitism. It is a temptation of our day, not confined to Germany alone. It spreads across all the continents and the seven seas. . . . We cannot just turn from it in contempt, as if from a sign of rudeness and barbarism. . . . Anti-Semitism is not a fringe problem of our crisis, a symptom. It is at the very center."

CARL J. FRIEDRICH

Jews in a Gentile World—The Problem of Anti-Semitism, p. 1

22. Bigotry has no head and cannot think. She has no heart and cannot feel. When she moves it is with wrath. When she pauses it is amidst ruin. Her prayers are curses. Her God is a demon. Her communion is death.

DANIEL O'CONNELL, Irish Patriot

23. Of all the bigotries that savage the human temper there is none so stupid as the anti-Semitic.

It has no basis in reason, it is not rooted in faith, it aspires to no ideal—it is just one of those dark and unwholesome weeds that grow in the morass of racial hatred.

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE
Stars and Sand, p. 314

24. Racial bigotry is the barometer of defeat. It must be wiped out in America and in the world.

WENDELL WILLKIE
PM, November 1, 1943, p. 4

25. What is called Nazism today has known many ages, many lands, and many names. It has expressed itself in ignorance and hatred of class toward class, religion toward religion, race toward race, nation toward nation; in economic peonage, in lynching and gangster mob rule, in relics of feudalism and superstition, in spiritual poverty and hopelessness.

JAMES P. POPE
Never Again, A Symposium, p. 23

26. . . . Anti-Semitism . . . is the monstrous spawn of ignorance, cruelty, lust, and hate.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
We Hold These Truths—Statements on Anti-Semitism, p. 55

27. Anti-Semitism is the corollary and catch-word of present-day mass humanity and mass mysticism, both obscure characteristics and shot through with much bestiality. It is not a thought, nor a word; it has no human voice, it is mere bawling.

THOMAS MANN
Opinion, May, 1937, p. 9, 10

28. Race hate, distilled from the suspicions of ignorance, takes its welcome from the impotent and the godless, comforting these with hellish parodies of what they've lost—arrogance to take the place of pride, contempt to occupy the spirit emptied of the love of man. There are alibis for the phenomenon—excuses, economic and social—but the brutal fact is simply this: Where the racist lie is acceptable there is corruption. Where there is hate there is shame. The human soul receives race hate only in the sickness of guilt. . . .

ORSON WELLES
Free World Magazine, July, 1944

29. To say that Nazism is a manifestation of animalism is an insult to animalism. The essential fact is that the policies and practices of the Nazis are a manifestation of something which we can call by no better term than diabolism. It is inhuman as against the human, and aims at the destruction of the human.

BISHOP FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL
Congress Weekly, August 14, 1942, p. 8

4. AN ATTACK ON CIVILIZATION

30. Anti-Semitism . . . is not only a crime against Jews. It is a crime against the human race of which the Jews are a part. It is degrading alike to the victim who suffers and to the persecutor who inflicts the suffering. Its goal is to make man lose his sense of godliness and dignity. It is a blind, brutal force, pushing intelligent men back into a state of wild nature. . . .

AN EDITORIAL
The Churchman, February 15, 1944, p. 6

31. This attack and expressed will to annihilate the Jewish people, is an attack upon the whole civilized world—Negroes, Christians, trade unionists, Americans, women and children.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Never Again, p. 54

32. It is at last fully apparent that the cause of democracy and the cause of Christianity are inexorably joined and that anti-Semitism is not only the spearhead of the attack upon Christian ethics, but also the real core of attack upon democracy. . . .

Anti-Semitism, deeply rooted in the spiritual decadence of Western society, has a quadruple significance; though explicitly directed against the Jews, it is of much broader scope. Anti-Semitism is the core of an attack against: (1) Democracy (2) Christianity (3) The idea of right and wrong, law and ethics (4) Civilization in any form.

Whenever and wherever it appears, it should be viewed as a most definite danger sign.

CARL J. FRIEDRICH
Jews in a Gentile World—The Problem of Anti-Semitism, p. 12, 18

33. The extent and violence of anti-Semitism in a given state is a test of that state's relation to any national concept of humane civilization.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN
Israel, p. 254

5. A THREAT TO DEMOCRACY

34. Anti-Semitism . . . is . . . the negation of democracy.

STEPHEN VINCENT BENET

We Hold These Truths—Statements on Anti-Semitism, p. 21

35. Anti-Semitism is an age-old problem, but its recrudescence today . . . is a symptom of the decline of democracy. Anti-Semitism is most ripe in countries where democracy and freedom have been most thoroughly suppressed.

HAROLD ICKES

We Hold These Truths—Statements on Anti-Semitism, p. 60, 61

36. . . . Anti-Semitism is a technique to despoil . . . a means, not an end, a smoke-screen under cover of which the chains of their common slavery are being forged. . . . The anti-Semites . . . are . . . not the foes of the Jew (any minority group would have served as their victims) but the foes of democracy, of progress, and of freedom.

JAMES W. WISE and LEE J. LEVINGER

Mr. Smith Meet Mr. Cohen, p. 165

37. Anti-Semitism is an insidious weapon and difficult to cope with because it is carried in the hearts of men of ill will who are guided by blind passion rather than intelligent understanding of American institutions, and is used by traitors who seek to destroy democracy.

NEWBOLD MORRIS

38. Whenever we find anti-Democratic forces arrayed against liberal civilization and against its conception of human freedom and of the rights of every individual, we find anti-Jewish measures a major part of their program.

MORRIS R. COHEN

Contemporary Jewish Record, April, 1941, p. 111

6. FASCISTIC

39. Anti-Semitism is not a mystic malady which afflicts populations like a disease, making its appearance without apparent cause. . . . It is, on the contrary, deliberately sown only where there is social and economic distress and consciously nurtured by reactionary forces for specific purposes. . . . Anti-Semitism has been widely used as a lightning-rod for the dissatisfactions of widespread masses of people. . . . Anti-Semitism has never been a uniform, unchanging movement. It is complex and variable, adapting itself to a particular country or locality and to the specific problems of that locality in

order to serve a specific purpose. . . . Anti-Semitism and racism are an organic part of Fascism as ideology, manifestation, and action. They cannot be separated. . . . Anti-Semitism has become one of the international outposts in the struggle between Fascism and Democracy. . . . The struggle against anti-Semitism is a struggle for justice and decency. It is the struggle of all people of good will, Christian as well as Jewish. . . . Anti-Semitism and social reaction are organically linked; he who helps one inevitably helps the other.

We Hold These Truths—Statements on Anti-Semitism,
p. 11, 13, 15, 17

40. For anti-Semitism is a touchstone, amalgamated in a mass of anger and hysteria. It is the desperate Fascist drive against the government of men by objective and reasonable law, whose ultimate source and foundation is God; a drive to make labor unfree and to impose exploitation by force and terror, to wipe out the consciousness of real spiritual and political and economic problems by concentrated emotional fury against a scapegoat.

An Editorial
Commonweal, July 21, 1939, p. 306

41. . . . Jew-baiting is but one aspect of the disease of Fascism, that system of thought and action which seizes upon minorities as fuel for ruthless power, by stoking the fires of ignorant fear, greed, and hate, by branding the persecuted with stigmata of evil, by sacrificing the scapegoat peoples on the altar of self-glory.

WALTON S. BITTNER
The Jewish Forum, March, 1944, p. 46

42. . . . The organized baiting of Jews is the core of a world movement of fascism.

An Editorial
PM, October 21, 1943

43. Anti-Semitism is the first weapon in the Fascist arsenal in its war on freedom.

MATTHEW WOLL
Congress Weekly, February 18, 1944, p. 17

44. Anti-Semitism is neither goal nor a more or less incidental by-product of Fascism. It is the most easily accessible means, the most widely usable instrumentality or technique of Fascism. . . . Anti-Semitism is an attempt to infiltrate the poison of Fascism into the body of American Democracy.

STEPHEN S. WISE
Congress Weekly, February 18, 1944, p. 6, 8

7. REACTIONARY

45. Anti-Semitism is almost invariably associated with lawlessness and with brutality and injustice. It is also invariably found closely intertwined with other sinister forces, particularly those which are corrupt, reactionary, and oppressive.

WOODROW WILSON, WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT,
CARDINAL O'CONNELL [AND OTHERS]
A statement to the public issued in 1921

46. Wherever and whenever there has been an organized propaganda of anti-Semitism it has invariably been closely intertwined with every other contemporary reactionary, oppressive, and contemptible force.

JOHN SPARGO
The Jew and American Ideals, p. 99

47. Anti-Semitism is the infallible sign of desperate reactionary forces at work, threatening civilization, wherever it appears and under whatever forms.

EARL BROWDER
We Hold These Truths—Statements on Anti-Semitism, p. 28

48. The anti-Semitic barometer rises and falls in sympathy with the waxing or waning of the forces of reaction. For anti-Semitism is a monstrous survival of the past. No progressive movement has ever incorporated this "Socialism of Idiots," as Bebel once called it. . . . Anti-Semitism is wedded to reaction and no man can put this twain asunder. In politics it has ever been the most obedient, humble servant of despotism and monarchy; in religion it ministers to the most odious prejudice and superstitions; in matters social, it savagely opposes the ideal of equality and fraternity of which Israel was the herald and the first exponent.

Anti-Semitism is the supreme protest of the spirit of slavery against the genius of freedom marching forward to the conquest of the world.

SAMUEL F. DARWIN FOX
Forum, May, 1926, p. 684

49. Like anti-Catholicism, like anti-alienism and anti-Negroism, it (anti-Semitism) is an unprincipled, degraded maneuver for dividing the people, for substituting false racial issues in place of consideration of real problems, for confusing the masses of people as to the causes of social distress by first blinding them with the

poisoned juices of minority hatred . . . in the ultimate hope that the people may be harnessed to the spiked wheels of reaction.

AN EDITORIAL
Equality, May, 1939, p. 3

50. Anti-Semitism is a political movement deliberately contrived to produce a certain political result; it can only be refuted by a counter-movement to produce a counter-result. It is a form of social pressure that can only be met by an opposite pressure. If this definition is accepted, it is obvious that the fight against anti-Semitism is not a fight to organize data, but to organize people.

SAMUEL GRAFTON
We Hold These Truths—Statements on Anti-Semitism, p. 49

8. DIVERSION OF MASSES FROM ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ILLS

51. Anti-Semitism is never a uniform, static movement. It is complex and variable, adapting itself to a particular locality. . . . Every anti-Semitic movement takes on special features to assist reaction in its fight against the progressive movement and against progressive features in each specific country. . . . Anti-Semitism is a drive against the progressive movement as a whole. Anti-Semitism is invariably a product of the ruling class, utilized to divide the workers on national lines, to divert the protest of the exploited masses from the real causes of their exploitation, to confuse the masses as to the causes of economic crises, unemployment, low wages and high cost of living and to mobilize the masses to support the program of the reactionaries.

JOHN ARNOLD
Jewish Life, May, 1938, p. 7

52. Anti-Semitism, as an extreme form of race chauvinism, is the most dangerous survival of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism benefits the exploiters, for it serves as a lightning conductor to divert from capitalism the blows of the toilers. Anti-Semitism is dangerous for the toilers, for it is a false track which diverts them from the proper road and leads them into the jungle.

JOSEPH STALIN
Quoted in *Stars and Sand*, p. 316

53. Anti-Semitism . . . is part of the whole development of reaction and fascism, a method employed by the most reactionary section of the capitalists who fear democracy and are determined to

hold control by the destruction of democracy and the introduction of fascism. As a means of diverting the attention of the masses from the cardinal questions facing them, the reactionaries and fascists intensify the drive against the Jews and in some countries make it a cardinal point of acceptance by all reactionary groups, by projecting the Jews as the cause of the undermining of economic conditions.

I. AMTER

Jewish Life, October, 1937, p. 15

54. Anti-Semitism is only one manifestation, it is only the smokescreen covering a conspiracy to suppress the right of humanity's mass to work for decent wages, to be secure in old age, to be strong and to live strong to the limit that science can let all mankind live.

PAUL DE KRUIF

We Hold These Truths—Statements on Anti-Semitism, p. 64, 65

55. Anti-Semitism is an accompaniment of capitalism in its last stages and desperate struggle for survival. It is a "red-herring" dragged across the track to keep the workers from finding the goal of socialism.

UPTON SINCLAIR

We Hold These Truths—Statements on Anti-Semitism, p. 85

56. American anti-Semitism is deliberately manufactured in our country by Fascists, semi-Fascists, and reactionaries, to defeat the trade-union movement, to circumvent the New Deal, to stop progress in general. . . . Jew-baiting becomes the one great soporific. Jew-baiting lets a man stop thinking and worrying and puzzling things out. Jew-baiting is the one perfect answer to unemployment, mortgage interest, wage-cuts, falling profits. Anti-Semitism, its backers hope, will channelize all the restless discontent of the American people, to deflect their longing for a better life from the true causes of their oppression to the fake causes of anti-Semitism. It is a trick to enlist men and women in the ranks of Fascism—the denial of all liberty and culture.

RUTH MCKENNEY

We Hold These Truths—Statements on Anti-Semitism, p. 72, 73

9. A DISEASE

57. Anti-Semitism is a mad passion, akin to the lowest perversities of diseased human nature. It is the will to hate.

COUNT TOLSTOY

58. . . . Anti-Semitism today may be defined as a psychological complex. All complexes are subjective and irrational to the extent that the emotional core dictates the nature, direction, and potency of the complex. In this they are related to the symptoms of psychopathology.

J. F. BROWN

Jews in a Gentile World—The Problem of Anti-Semitism, p. 126

59. That every man has a right to his own opinion is an American boast. But race hate isn't an opinion; it's a phobia. It isn't a viewpoint; race hate is a disease. . . .

ORSON WELLES

Free World Magazine, July, 1944

60. Anti-Semitism presents an emotional and not an intellectual problem and . . . in essence it is both an individual and group neurosis. . . . Intensely characteristic of anti-Semitism is its deep emotional hold on the Christian and its fairly general defiance of logic. . . . It is . . . not simply a Jewish problem or a problem for the Jew alone. It affects the Christian no less than the Jew and warps the judgment of the one as much as the other. If it be regarded as a disease it is no less a Christian than a Jewish disease; in fact more Christian than Jewish, though the Jew suffers most. It is an atavistic malady, a reversion to primitive, emotional ways of thinking and acting.

I. S. WECHSLER

Essays on Anti-Semitism, p. 167, 170, 173

61. The anti-Semite is an invalid who will not go to the doctor. He goes only to the Jew. The Jew is his patent medicine guaranteed to cure him. If he is weak, the Jew will make him strong. If he is stupid, he has only to swallow a few Jews and become brilliant. If he is suffering from being unknown, he can find fame out of Jews. They are a magic indispensable to fools.

BEN HECHT

A Guide for the Bedevilled, p. 15, 16

62. Anti-Semitism is a disease of the mind which breaks loose in plague form during a period of crises. It is a product of the general breakdown of belief in existing institutions and habits, the family, the government.

COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

63. Judeophobia, together with other symbols, superstitions and idiosyncracies, has acquired legitimacy among all the peoples of the

earth with whom the Jews had intercourse. Judeophobia is a variety of demonopathy with the distinction that it is not peculiar to particular races but is common to the whole of mankind, and that this ghost is not disembodied like other ghosts but partakes of flesh and blood, must endure pain inflicted by the fearful mob who imagines itself endangered. Judeophobia is a psychic aberration, it is hereditary, and as a disease transmitted for two thousand years, it is incurable.

It is this fear of ghosts, the mother of judeophobia, that has evoked this abstract, I might say platonic hatred, thanks to which the whole Jewish nation is wont to be held responsible for the real or supposed misdeeds of its individual members, and to be libelled in so many ways, to be buffeted about so shamefully.

LEO PINSKER
Auto-Emancipation, Masada edition, p. 10

64. Bigotry thrives on ignorance . . . is a disease which thrives in small minds. . . .

ARCHBISHOP FRANCIS J. SPELLMAN
The American, March, 1944.

65. One of the most disturbing features of anti-Semitism is its irrationality. It is rooted in and plays upon the basest aspects of personality, jealousy, snobbery, malice, hate, sadism. The rationalisms born of these passions cannot stand up under the searchlight of science. They have no validity in fact; they are preposterous as theory. They are understandable only as verbal constructs designed for political purposes, for the justification of discrimination, terror, and violence. They are shabby defenses for twisted lives, smoke screens for aggression and exploitation.

BERNHARD J. STERN
We Hold These Truths—Statements on Anti-Semitism, p. 85

66. . . . Anti-Semitism is the aristocracy of the rabble. . . . "I must admit that I'm nothing," it means to say, "but I am at least not a Jew." Whereupon the duffer believes that, therefore, he is something.

THOMAS MANN
Contemporary Jewish Record, March-April, 1940, p. 116

67. Anti-Semitism is one very poignant symptom of a widespread social disease. One can hardly speak of a symptom as being epidemic or endemic, but it is certain that anti-Semitism is both.

KARL MENNINGER
We Hold These Truths—Statements on Anti-Semitism, p. 74, 75

10. SCAPEGOATISM

68. The history of mankind is full of tragic examples of all sorts of guilt and evils being ascribed to innocent but unpopular groups or "minorities," who, for one reason or another, seemed different from the rank and file of the community and thus aroused suspicion, fear, or hatred. Rulers soon found it to their advantage to let these popular prejudices concentrate on the heads of such groups until widespread persecution resulted. By such means, it was easy to distract the attention of the public from the real shortcomings of the group in power, or to cause the masses to forget their own miseries.

KENNETH M. GOULD

They Got the Blame, p. 14

69. The conscious pretexts for anti-Semitism vary historically in every country; they may be reduced to one simple syllogism: Every country has Jews, every country has evils; therefore the Jews are the cause of all the evils. Such is the crude logic of Demos and demagogues. . . . The Jews are as good as a foreign war in diverting attention from domestic troubles and infinitely more economical.

LEE J. LEVINGER, quoting Israel Zangwill
Anti-Semitism—Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 269

70. The causes of anti-Semitism lie in nationalism and in political, religious and racial interests. The particular form it assumes is dictated by the requirements of the place and time in which it appears. It is indifferent as to whether the arguments it uses can or cannot be proved, or whether they are mutually contradictory. It uses facts, as well as valuations and resentment, as providing a reasonable basis for its position. It comes to the fore in moments of victory as well as of defeat and appears in times of both economic prosperity and depression. It is, therefore, clearly, a problem of the non-Jewish environment, the proof being that, when the curve of a people's national, religious, or racial feeling rises, they become elated and refuse any longer to tolerate the Jews but demand their isolation on the plea that they are an inferior race and exercise a deleterious influence. But when the opposite process takes place, the Jews again are blamed and their isolation is insisted upon as a precautionary measure and as a punishment.

JOSEF KASTEIN

History and Destiny of the Jews, p. 431

71. Anti-Semitism has been utilized throughout its history to turn the Jew into a scapegoat, to direct against his hated and defenseless person the violent attacks of discontent engendered elsewhere, thereby shielding from popular fury, iniquitous institutions, vested interests, personal privileges, and other human embodiments. . . .

VICTOR EPPSTEIN

How to Combat Anti-Semitism in America, p. 49

72. Anti-Semitism . . . arises out of frustration and fear, suspicion and distrust, the need for venting justifiable anger upon a ready object which becomes the scapegoat. Anti-Semitism is in the last analysis, a hate caused by real or fancied events or persons—a hate that seeks to blame the many for the true or alleged sins of the few. Anti-Semitism is one with anti-Catholicism and anti-Protestantism, with anti-foreignism, with scapegoatism, with the psychosis born of frustrations and fed by lie and myth.

FRANK N. TRAGER

Intercultural Education News, June, 1943, p. 1

73. Hatred of the Jew is often the search for a scapegoat. When men feel their personal misfortunes are bound up with those of history, they begin to look for someone on whom to lay the blame for it all.

NICOLAS A. BERDYAEV

Commonweal, April 21, 1939, p. 707

74. Anti-Semitism is not dislike of certain people. It is not even the desire to be with one's own sort if one happens not to be, we will say, of the Jewish race. It is not that. It is a peculiar, illogical, irrational kind of madness. It cares nothing for the truth. . . . It is a form of escapism which seeks a scapegoat to whom to blame for misfortune or disaster. It is an attack upon the rights of people, a devilish device to direct the hate of a nation or of a group of people in a difficult time away from the real causes of those troubles from which they may be suffering . . . it is treason. . . .

HENRY SMITH LEIPER

75. For the great majority of sane and balanced Americans anti-Semitism is a mean and rather pitiful obsession, compounded of ignorance and ill-will, of race prejudice and religious intolerance, born of the need to find compensation for personal failure and a

scapegoat for social and economic ills. It is nourished by illusion and can be cured by simple information.

MAURICE SAMUEL

American Mercury, July, 1941, p. 56

76. One of the major attractions of prejudice is that it offers a scapegoat. Anyone thwarted by a private difficulty (such as unemployment) tends to project his vexation onto some other group. . . .

Only an exceptionally objective person accepts responsibility for his own failures. It is more comforting to indict a scapegoat. A "foreign" or "minority" group is an ideal victim. Availability, identifiability, and helplessness—these are the desiderata, and such groups have all these requirements. The irrational basis of this line of attack is betrayed by such paradoxical charges as: "Aliens have all the good jobs," and "Aliens are our heaviest relief burden"; or "Jews are all wealthy capitalists," "Jews are all property-destroying Communists." . . . The scapegoat is attacked for mutually exclusive reasons, at least one of which must be wrong.

HENRY A. DAVIDSON

Common Ground, Winter, 1941, p. 5

11. DISTINCTION BETWEEN ANTI-SEMITISM AND ANTI-JUDAISM

77. Let us observe an important distinction . . . between anti-Jewishness and anti-Semitism. Anti-Jewishness is the all-too-familiar type of race and religious intolerance which exists between Jew and Christian, Catholic and Protestant, Black and White, White and Yellow, Pole and German . . . , etc. Anti-social enough, it has a "reasonable" foundation in ordinary human weaknesses. But the distortions, misstatements and misinterpretations arising from such intolerances are confined to the humanly credible. . . . But the accusations of anti-Semitism—as distinguished from anti-Jewishness—are characterized by a wild and driving diabolism which is visited upon no other people.

MAURICE SAMUEL

American Mercury, July, 1941,* p. 58

78. Briefly stated, the thesis is that anti-Jewishness is a commonplace phenomenon which somehow can be dealt with. But anti-Semitism is a revolt of the believers in force against the Judeo-Christian principle of non-force. The thesis might be summarized in these terms: Anti-Jewishness is more or less personal resentment against some Jews. Anti-Semitism is a revolution against a Christ

principle which has come directly out of the Hebraic tradition and is denial of the validity or supremacy of force in the world.

EDITORIAL

Opinion, October, 1940, p. 9

79. Anti-Semitism should be recognized for what it is, and not confounded with things that are frequently called anti-Semitic, but are not such in the strict sense of the word. . . .

. . . Anti-Jewish prejudice is one thing, but anti-Semitism is another.

Anti-Jewish prejudice is a word that can cover a multitude of ideas and feelings, manifested in an equally great variety of acts, customs, or institutions. It refers to practically anything which can be termed an unreasonable or unfounded dislike of Jews or antagonism to them. . . . In many instances the question as to what is really prejudice and what is a reasonable or natural dislike is a highly subjective affair. . . .

Anti-Semitism, however, is a very definite and easily identifiable thing. It is a *movement*, not a mere emotion, that is sedulously and systematically propagated, usually by certain well-known and well-tried techniques. . . . It has its centers of propaganda and its distributing agencies, and is a *power* movement. It is not a mere doctrinal abstraction, but is used by unscrupulous leaders in order to achieve political or revolutionary ends. . . . It is recognizable by its formulae, its techniques of vilification, its extreme fanaticism and rigid adherence to a "party line." . . . But essential to anti-Semitism is the doctrine that the Jews are to blame for practically all the evils of the world, as a sort of contemporary original sin, a universal scapegoat upon whose back may be laden everything that we fear, dislike or hate, from wars and pestilence to the conditions in the Second Ward.

JOHN LA FARGE

America, January 29, 1944, p.461

80. Anti-Semitism . . . is not the same thing as anti-Jewish prejudice. . . . Anti-Jewish prejudice is, on the whole, a fairly human failing, and is based largely on the ancient suspicion of aliens, religious or national. For the most part it is individual and scattered or, at the worst, localized. But anti-Semitism is a *weapon*. It may be first employed at the ballot box, but invariably it ends with a sword or a shotgun.

STRUTHERS BURT

Forum, May, 1939, p. 247

B. ITS DANGERS

1. TO CHRISTIANITY

81. But the world will make a grave mistake if from these facts it concludes that the revival of intolerance is primarily or peculiarly a Jewish problem. For already it is apparent that the Jews are serving not merely as a scapegoat but as a smoke screen to conceal more aggressive designs of power-mad men. Already those who started out and who continue to bait the Jews are baiting Protestants and Catholics whenever they find that they have the force to succeed and that the loot makes their effort worth while. The worship of force is not only anti-Jewish, it is anti-Christian, it is a revolt against reason and God.

FRANK MURPHY

New York Times, January 7, 1940, p. 1

82. Knowing how Catholics and Protestants have stood out in all the Hitler-scourged lands of Europe on behalf of Jews when Jews and only Jews were Hitler victims, I dare say that Christians worthy of the name understand that it is not the physical security of Christianity that is challenged, but its moral and spiritual survival.

STEPHEN S. WISE

Congress Weekly, March 5, 1943, p. 3

83. I do not think that anti-Semitism is a crime which concerns only the Jews. I think it is a crime which concerns all mankind, but more particularly Christians than any other people. It should be clear to Christians that the inhuman treatment by the Nazis of men who are Jews is the best evidence they need to prove that Hitler's plan to remove from the face of the earth not only the Jews, but everything that the people of Palestine have given the world—the knowledge of God, and the moral law, and the Christian religion.

WILLIAM C. KERNAN

Never Again, A Symposium, p. 89

84. But the anti-Semitic allies of Germany were after all only tools in the hands of their German masters. The extent to which the non-German anti-Semites have been duped became apparent in all its significance when the Nazis, after the conquest of Poland, cynically applied the same principle of inferior races, not only to Polish Jews, but also to Polish Christians. The theory of racial inequality thus served as a pretext to make the Poles once more the agricultural

serfs they were in the days of the Teutonic Order. And herein lies a suggestion of the root meaning of anti-Semitism, for the Jew, it is now obvious, has become the proto-typal experimental victim of a program of exploitation that is the first step in a preconceived Nazi plan of world conquest and enslavement.

JACOB R. MARCUS

Contemporary Jewish Record, October, 1941, p. 503

2. TO RELIGIOUS AND MINORITY GROUPS

85. The status of the Jew is the touchstone of the quality of our democracy, of the value of our constitutional rights. Because he is a minority and therefore the legitimate prey of those forces that would destroy our democratic system, attack upon the Jew is the entering breach in the wall of American liberties. Those who cherish the hard-won victories of American democracy and would preserve them can and must be made conscious of the significance of the Jew as a social symptom. To protect themselves they must protect the Jew first; once he has come under the shadow of social ostracism, of civil disability, their own positions are already undermined and tottering. The proofs need not be adduced; they are only too well known. We include here, of course, the Negro, the Mexican, the Japanese, all minorities whose weakness lay them open to attack. But the symptomatic value of the Jew is unique in that he has become the traditional first line of offense in the war upon human rights. . . .

JOSHUA TRACHTENBERG

How to Combat Anti-Semitism in America, p. 30, 31

86. Divisiveness on religious and racial grounds is a portentous menace to American democracy. If one group be made the target of attack today, the same spirit of intolerance may be visited on another group tomorrow and the rights and liberties of every group thus be put in jeopardy.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Quoted in the *Jewish Survey*, May, 1942, p. 6

87. There are two very sound reasons why anti-Semitism must be purged from the American life stream.

First, anti-Semitism is unjust, unscrupulous, and undemocratic. . . .

Second, anti-Semitism is but a forerunner to anti-Negroism, anti-Catholicism, and anti-criticism. Such a condition is pro-Hitlerism, pure and simple.

A. CLAYTON POWELL, JR.

Jewish Survey, May, 1942, p. 6

88. They just don't reason. They tell me—all of them—that some of their best friends are Jews and that there are "fine" Jews. Five minutes later, they belittle and bemean "Jews"—thus thrusting knives in the backs of those "best friends." . . . They should remember that whenever a group is disenfranchised or destroyed, mankind then has the tyrant or executioner to deal with. In such a case it would be themselves. Finally, they should have been taught this truth: Those who persecute one group inevitably turn upon others. I dare say 50 per cent of the anti-Semitic talkers known to me are also anti-Catholic. Suppose their words, which have some darkling color that made pogroms in Europe, become a reality? Against whom would they strike next?

PHILIP WYLIE

Miami Daily News

89. Anti-Semitism is a menace to American democracy. The attack upon the Jews is the prelude of the attack upon Catholicism, Protestantism, and the whole democratic way of life.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

90. Anti-Semitism is employed to destroy the peoples faith in the spirit of democracy. . . . Once you have been convinced that the rights of the Jews should be curbed, you are in the ranks of those who would cancel the rights of other citizens. If you have reached the point of saying, "The Jews deserve what they are getting," it will not take long to substitute "Catholics," "foreigners," "workers," for "Jews."

LEO W. SCHWARTZ

Where Hope Lies, p. 129

91. Recognition of the smallest minority is written in blood as well as ink in our Bill of Rights. . . . We know that the constitutional safeguards of equal justice under the law are absolutely essential to the preservation of liberty. For history has shown that once persecution is unloosed on one minority it spreads like a blight.

WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

Congress Weekly, March 5, 1943, p. 12

92. We may be sure that any anti-Semitic drive in the United States is but the first move in the drive to substitute dictatorship for democracy. Anti-Semitic organizations in reality are pro-Fascist organizations. If an anti-Semitic drive succeeds, there will immediately be an anti-Catholic drive. And if the time ever comes when Protestants are in a minority too, then there will be an anti-Protestant drive. The method of the oppressor is to point the finger of hatred

at minority groups. Those who would revert to such a barbaric creed believe that, for the majority, hatred is a better unifying force than love.

HENRY A. WALLACE

We Hold These Truths—Statements on Anti-Semitism, p. 100

93. Let's clearly remember this: The German attack on the Jews is essentially pagan, not Christian at all. . . . It would be a terrible thing if Catholics, through their hatred of Jews, aligned themselves with frankly brutal pagans who, though they seem for the moment to be concentrating their malicious energies against the Jews, have not forgotten to strike fierce, savage blows against Catholics and who will, if ever they succeed in wiping out the Jews, turn their fullest destructive hatred against the Catholics.

DANIEL A. LORD, S. J.

Dare We Hate Jews?, p. 6

94. There are many sound reasons, both selfish and unselfish, why Catholics should not be anti-Semitic. Selfish considerations compel Catholics to realize that what begins as anti-Semitism can easily and quickly pass over to anti-Catholicism. Some of the stock charges brought against the Jews have been and may again be brought against Catholics . . . international . . . political Catholicism . . . church rolling in wealth. . . .

J. ELLIOT ROSS

American Ecclesiastical Review, May, 1939

95. Catholicism, like all other religions, is vitally interested in complete religious freedom in the United States. We who are of the Catholic faith, do well to remember this. We do well to remember that only in a land where democracy and good will and understanding are the watchwords, do Catholics themselves live in full freedom. . . . Know and understand that one hate breeds another. In Germany, the Jew was the first and foremost victim of hate and persecution. He is still the chief victim, but now the Catholic and the Protestant too share in part his fate. It is no accident that the government which has dedicated itself to destroying the Jews of Germany, root and branch, is also committed to the destruction of the Christian religion. . . . Wherever Jews are persecuted, there too other creeds and races will sooner or later be persecuted, Quoting the Pope: "Anti-Semitism . . . is a movement in which Christians cannot share. . . . It is not possible for Christians to take part in anti-Semitism. We are Semites spiritually. . . . To destroy democracy, the Nazis have set about destroying Christianity and Judaism."

FRANK J. HOGAN

An American Catholic Speaks on Intolerance, p. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7

3. TO DEMOCRACY

96. Anti-Semitism . . . strikes at the root of the principles underlying Christianity and American democracy and prepares the way for the Nazi doctrines of the chosen race, privilege of the strong, and violence.

SHERMAN E. JOHNSON
The Witness

97. Organized anti-Semitism is a weapon of the Nazi revolution. It is the most cunning of all the cunning methods devised by the Nazis to destroy democracies from within. It threatens not only the Jews but the basic principles of democracy and Christianity as well. . . .

Anti-Semitism, like all other racial hatreds, has never contributed in the slightest to the solution of any problem—economic, social, or political. On the contrary it hinders the solution of such problems by diverting our efforts from the finding of solutions to the making of a scapegoat.

FRANK MURPHY
National Jewish Monthly, June, 1944, p. 321

98. The forces who would sow the seed of discord between men of different faiths are dangerous enemies of democracy. They would tear down the pillars of freedom and in its place enshrine fear and bigotry and hate. Wherever racial or religious division has raised its ugly head, the death knell of human liberties has been sounded. Inevitably the state becomes a house divided against itself. It was that very kind of division which made possible dictatorships abroad and led to the destruction of freedom and religion in many democratic liberty-loving countries. Americans loyal to their country and to their God will not permit the same thing to happen here.

HERBERT H. LEHMAN

99. President Roosevelt in a statement made public by the Committee of Catholics for Human Rights on August 4th, 1940, declared:

"Any selfish group which would discriminate against any of our fellow-citizens because of race or religion would therefore endanger the fundamental rights of all."

"Only by common recognition of the principles that all men are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness can we at-

tain the national unity which is essential to the maintenance of the democratic way of life and those cherished institutions which it fosters and encourages."

NATHANIEL H. GOODRICH

Contemporary Jewish Record, November-December, 1940, p. 575

100. . . . The enemy of the Jew is the enemy of freedom. They who organize the pogrom today will attack tomorrow the general foundations of freedom. . . .

HAROLD J. LASKI

The Jewish Spectator, August, 1943, p. 8

101. My attention has been brought to what would appear to be an organized campaign against the Jew in America. Such a campaign is entirely at variance with America's best traditions and ideals, and its only effect can be the introduction of religious tests to determine citizenship and a reign of prejudice and race hatred wholly incompatible with loyal and intelligent American citizenship. To discriminate against any race or religion is utterly un-American; and I, therefore wish to register my protest against any campaign against the Jews or any other religious groups constituting the great citizenship of this country.

CARDINAL WILLIAM O'CONNELL

Quoted by Samuel Walker McCall in
Patriotism of the American Jew, p. 257

102. I want to point out why we must continue this fight against anti-Semitism with all of our strength. It is not only because one race is in danger. It is also because the whole fabric of American democracy is in danger. If this attack against the Jews should succeed—which it will not—the American system will fall. America will continue to be America only so long as all our citizens have equal rights and equal opportunity. This nation is a union of citizens. It is not a haven for any one race. It is a union of citizens of all races. Destroy that union by attacking one race that composes it and you will destroy all that we have ever meant or known by America. Today, it is the Jews. Tomorrow, it will be the Negroes or the Irish or the English. If one's rights are sacrificed, everyone's rights are in danger.

WILLIAM C. KERNAN

103. Persecutions of minorities in war time are not only hateful, but a stab in the back for every American engaged either at home or abroad in the struggle over those who would destroy us and everything we stand for.

THOMAS E. DEWEY

4. TO NATIONAL UNITY

104. The evil results of the spirit of race prejudice and hatred . . . destroy[s] the spirit of unity among our people. . . . It threatens our future and our children's future.

WILLIAM DRAPER LEWIS

The Jewish Forum, March, 1944, p. 44

105. . . . Bigotry . . . is a deadly force which unless checked, can destroy democracy from within. It spreads the seed of suspicion and distrust, and eventually turns neighbor against neighbor, group against group, and class against class.

CHARLES EDISON

PM, Nov. 1, 1943, p. 4

106. Those who preach race hatred and intolerance among us in such a world at war are traitors to our lonely democracy. They menace our moral unity. They divide our precious strength. . . . It is a clear lesson of history that whenever racial hatred gets a real start in a land, it is the beginnings of the dissolution of civilization in that land . . . racial hatred has destroyed peace. . . .

BISHOP BERNARD J. SHEIL

Equality, December, 1939, p. 7

107. Oppression of minorities creates racial and national strife which results in bitterness, bloodshed and war.

OSCAR I. JANOWSKY

Survey Graphic, February, 1939, p. 165

C. ITS EFFECTS

1. ON PERSECUTED

108. But if the unhappy results of anti-Semitism on the Jew are numerous and far-reaching, this problem has another aspects. In resistance, adaptation, and social selection, anti-Semitism has immeasurably strengthened the Jews. As Dr. Miller puts it: "The most outstanding result of the oppression psychosis is to create a group solidarity which is far stronger than could have created by any other means. Whenever there is a conflict, both sides increase their solidarity; but the one which loses and is dominated has the supplementary emotion of hate to stimulate its unity." So whether one deals with the Irish, the Poles or the Jews, the oppressed minority is beaten into unity by the hammers of the oppressor. . . .

The Jews of Germany, or a large part of them, were already assimilated and doing their utmost to disappear as Jews; now, under Hitler, they have become self-conscious Jews, are again praying in the Synagogues, learning Hebrew, yearning for Zion. The very tendencies which they had long deserted have now become their life blood. . . .

Anti-Semitism has been one of the important factors making for Jewish solidarity and persistence, for the purity of the Jewish home, the devotion to the Synagogue, for the stern loyalty of the Jewish people as a whole, and for their productivity of great men. . . .

So we see that the effects of anti-Semitism have been double, both on the world and on the Jews. For the oppressing group, it united the nation at the expense of its own moral values, at infinite cost to truth, to humanity, to originality and progress. For the Jew, it frightened, which impelled some Jews to over-aggressiveness, others to flight for themselves and to assimilation in the majority. But it did all this to another end as well; it elevated the morale of the Jewish people as a whole, left it a smaller but stronger and more united group. Anti-Semitism robbed the Jew of numbers but gave him unity; it deprived him of simplicity and poise, but in return, gave him restlessness and an exhaustless energy.

LEE J. LEVINGER

Anti-Semitism, Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 292-293, 297-298

109. The Jews, forced into ghettos at first by inclination and then by law, built up their culture in both its inner and its overt phases into an intellectual and social ghetto. The ghetto facilitated the development and the conservation of the Jewish mode of life, of Jewish intellectual activities, of Jewish loyalties, and crystalized an entire social nexus with its own life, its own interests, its own diversions. The Jew developed a technique of living amid a hostile or indifferent majority. Jewish life came to have and still does have in large part all the intensity and distinctiveness of the life of an independent nation.

The result is that the Jewish culture itself, surrounded for so many centuries by alien civilizations, has developed an almost impregnable technique of self-preservation, rigidity, and persistence.

J. O. HERTZLER

Jews in a Gentile World—The Problem of Anti-Semitism, p. 73

110. Yet it is easy to exaggerate the evil effects of the ghetto. The institution had its brighter side too. . . . Thrown close together, always in view of each other, the Jews built up an esprit de corps

which was stronger than death. The home with high moral standards, became an impregnable rock against which time and adversity beat in vain until the subtler influences of the 19th Century began to wear it down. A strong Jewish consciousness was developed, a folk-life with folk-ways remarkably virile for a people divorced from a land of their own and denied opportunities in any other. . . .

The medieval Jew, however, was most clearly revealed in his home. In almost a literal sense his obscure little dwelling was his castle. Here he shut out the hostile world; he set aside the Jew badge and straightened up, a human being again. On the Sabbath, he was Lord in his own right. Attired in holiday "sarabel," surrounded by a devoted family, quiet, peaceful, he could forget for a moment the ugly realities just under his window.

ABRAM L. SACHAR

A History of the Jews, p. 253, 254, 258

111. . . . History . . . has demonstrated that persecution of the Jews merely strengthens them in their position. . . . It makes him . . . fight back. It puts him in the spiritually advantageous position of the underdog. This gives him the glorious privilege of martyrdom. . . . Persecution makes a Jew who remembers the persecution of his race more than ever a Jew.

COUNT HEINRICH COUDENHOVE-KALERGI

Anti-Semitism Throughout the Ages, p. 12-13

112. It is a paradox that anti-Semitism always fails of its ultimate purpose, that it strengthens the Jew by strengthening his religious consciousness. . . . Mass deportations have proved unavailing; pogroms produced new problems; and inquisitions bred worse evils. The net result of centuries dedicated to the theory of force as a solution for the "Jewish problem" has been a brutalization of the oppressors and untold suffering for the oppressed, followed by an intensification of the difficulties which precipitated the disturbance. It is as true of the Jews as it is of the Christians that the blood of their persecuted is the most signal source of their strength.

FATHER JOSEPH N. MOODY

Why Are the Jews Persecuted, p. 11

113. The universal result of anti-Semitism is two-fold. It affects the Jew not only in his status as a member of society, but, even more tragically, it breaks down his morale as an individual. It not only crushes the Jew as a citizen, but it burns into his soul a devastating sense of inferiority.

JACOB R. MARCUS

Essays on Anti-Semitism, p. 175

114. Those individuals who would like to leave a group do not have this loyalty. In an underprivileged group, many of these individuals are, nevertheless, forced to stay within the group. As a result, we find in every underprivileged group a number of persons ashamed of their membership. In the case of the Jews, such a Jew will try to move away as far as possible from things Jewish. On his scale of values, he will place these habits, appearances, or attitudes which he considers to be particularly Jewish not particularly high; he will rank them low.

This situation is much aggravated by the following fact: A person for whom the balance is negative will move as far away from the center of Jewish life as the outside majority permits. He will stay on this barrier and be in a constant state of frustration. Actually, he will be more frustrated than those members of the minority who keep psychologically well inside the group. We know from experimental psychology and psychopathology that such frustration leads to an all-around state of high tension with a generalized tendency to aggression. The aggression should, logically, be directed against the majority, which is what hinders the minority members from leaving his group. However, the majority has, in the eyes of those persons, higher status. And besides, the majority is much too powerful to be attacked. Experiments have shown that, under these conditions, aggression is likely to be turned against one's own group or against one's self. . . .

It is recognized in sociology that the members of the lower social strata tend to accept the fashions, values, and ideals of the higher strata. In the case of the underprivileged group it means that their opinions about themselves are greatly influenced by the low esteem the majority has for them. This infiltration of the views and values of what Maurice Pekarsky has called the "gate-keeper" necessarily heightens the tendency of the Jew with a negative balance to cut himself loose from things Jewish. The more typically Jewish people are, or the more typically Jewish a cultural symbol or behavior pattern is, the more distasteful they will appear to this person. Being unable to cut himself loose from his Jewish connections and his Jewish past, the hatred turns upon himself. . . .

The only way to avoid Jewish self-hatred in its various forms is a change of the negative balance between the forces toward and away from the Jewish group, into a positive balance, the creation of loyalty to the Jewish group instead of negative chauvinism. We are unable to safeguard our fellow Jews or our growing children today against those handicaps which are the result of their being Jewish. However, we can try to build up a Jewish education both on

the children's level and on the adult level to counteract the feeling of inferiority and the feeling of fear which are the most important sources of the negative balance.

The feeling of inferiority of the Jew is but an indication of the fact that he sees things Jewish with the eyes of the unfriendly majority.

KURT LEWIN

Contemporary Jewish Record, June, 1941, p. 225, 226, 230

115. A Jewish homeland in Palestine would, of course, impose no special political obligation on Jews of other lands. But it would normalize Jewish life by giving Jews everywhere equal status with peoples of other national origins, who have settled in lands other than their ancestral homes. . . . It would save Jews from the demoralization and self-hatred that are the inevitable by-products of anti-Semitism. It would restore Jewish self-respect. It would dissipate the necessity for apologetics in which many Jews feel impelled to indulge. It would prove an inspiring source of Jewish cultural creativity, capable not only of strengthening Jewish life everywhere, but also of enriching Jewish contributions to their various homelands.

The deepening of the self-respect and self-confidence of the Jew will guard him against despair.

JACOB J. WEINSTEIN

The American Jew, a Composite Portrait, p. 203

116. One of the most alarming phenomena in contemporary Jewish life is the development on the part of American Jews of what William James called "sick souls." Under the Ghetto system the Jew suffered all sorts of political, social, and economic disabilities. His self-esteem was never shaken. Such was the vitality of his inner Jewishness that it protected his morale against psychic corruption. In our lives as Jews the disabilities which we suffer are comparatively insignificant. And yet they exist. Each Jew at some time or other in his life feels that because he is a Jew he is an outsider. He is likely to feel that he is not altogether wanted by the majority groups. By virtue of his minority position he suffers from a sense of insecurity. He feels himself penalized economically and socially because of his Jewish identity. He is acutely sensitive to hostile opinion concerning Jews. And at the same time his Judaism no longer functions as effectively as did that of his ancestors to preserve his self-respect. As a result, he is likely to regard his Jewishness as the cause and symbol of his frustrations. Consciously or unconsciously, he tends to seek relief in flight mechanisms. And when he discovers that these are ineffective, he takes recourse to internal re-

sentment against the Judaism which cripples him as though it were some physical deformity and from which there is no escape. I need scarcely indicate how dangerous this is to the health, balance, and usefulness of the personality of the Jew.

Palestine tends to be a prophylactic against self-contempt because of its contribution to Jewish cultural life. If any inference can be drawn from the Jewish past it is this: A living Jewish spiritual existence is the best guarantee against Jewish anti-Semitism. Any activity which enriches the content of Jewish life tends to preserve the integrity of the Jewish soul. And among these activities Palestine looms large.

RABBI MILTON STEINBERG

Proceedings, National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare, 1937,
p. 6-7

117. Another attitude merits attention—group paranoia, a victim's tendency to blame his failures on group persecution. . . . Many Jews read anti-Semitism into every personal slight. The conviction grows that successful members of the community are frauds, and that in this world success depends on background, not on personal merit. This may be against the weight of evidence, but it is a natural reaction on the part of victims of chronic prejudice.

HENRY A. DAVIDSON

Common Ground, Winter, 1941, p. 11

118. The results on the oppressed groups are even more striking, with the dangerous and unfortunate ones outstanding. . . . As Prof. Herbert A. Miller points out, in his *Races, Nations and Classes*, there is a frequent reaction of oppressed groups which he calls the "oppression psychosis." . . . Such an oppressed minority . . . is normally subjective, has a tendency to suspicion, is aggressive in order to make up for its disabilities, seizes on certain symbols, such as language or religion, as defensive institutions. . . .

Naturally, a large proportion of any minority grow up to believe what the majority have told them about themselves. The inferiority complex is a frequent result of oppression. . . . The inferiority complex shows itself in two different ways, apparently opposite. It may lead to extreme doubting and fear, to hiding one's Jewish identity, to a greater or lesser amount of assimilation. Or it may lead to suspicion, aggressiveness, what the Freudian school calls "over-compensation" for an inferiority, real or imagined.

LEE J. LEVINGER

Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 288-290

119. Due to the brutal pressure of anti-Jewish propaganda, there is an unmistakable tendency among Jews to herd together like frightened sheep and seek salvation within the confines of sectarian organizations and institutions. The resulting isolation intensifies the self-consciousness of the group. It produces a serious persecution complex. Many Jews have come to feel that all non-Jews are in league against them, that they are real or potential enemies. . . . This is a false and dangerous assumption. . . . The sane procedure is not to yield to the instinctive inclination to withdraw from one's corner, but to develop the ability to join with our actual and potential friends.

Another attitude which is present among certain groups of Jews is what has been called the . . . "hush-hush" program. It is in a word, this: When Jews are attacked the best thing to do is to keep one's mouth shut . . . to withdraw from public life so that Jews may not become easy targets for the baiters; to allow one's sympathetic friends to become one's mouthpieces. . . . This . . . viewpoint . . . is lodged in a psychology of fear and defeat. . . . If Jews absent themselves from public life, if they do not participate in the struggle against enemies of freedom and social justice, they are unwittingly accepting the prejudices working against them as their own criteria of conduct. In order to survive, a group or individual must be willing to participate in the struggle for survival. The alternative is to perish ignobly.

. . . There is . . . in the minds of a growing number of people, a corrosive sense of futility, a complete blackout of hope and loss of nerve. . . . What these prophets of doom forget is that their attitude is an opening wedge for the things they dread. It amounts to a complete moral breakdown. . . . To guard against these attitudes is fundamental to our future.

LEO W. SCHWARTZ

Where Hope Lies, p. 117-119

120. There are many reasons why the Jews harbor among them probably a larger number of individuals suffering from a sense of insecurity than any other group. The most important of these are the separation forced upon them by their religion and the constant humiliation they have had to bear throughout the centuries. The main consequences of this widespread psychological insecurity among Jews are the closely related tendencies to oversensitiveness to criticism on the one hand, and "abnormal" aggressiveness and self-assertion on the other.

TALCOTT PARSONS

Jews in a Gentile World, p. 116

121. The conditions of life impose upon the Jew an incredibly frustrating code of circumspection. In his helplessness under the continual obligation to refrain from making a fatal direct physical assault upon his stranger tormentors, or an ill-advised frontal attack on anti-Semitic ideas, he is left in a state of frustration that accounts for many of his personal and cultural peculiarities. This creates in him aggressive attitudes and the need of avenues of expression. . . . He may turn irrationally upon his leaders, with hatred for their failures and their interference. He may engage in disruptive family quarrels. The German Jew may hate the Polish Jew for his ignorance, orthodoxy, and "uncivilized" (meaning un-German) habits, and the latter may hate the former for his arrogance and his usurpation of authority in councils. Being inhibited from exasperated acts of aggression, the Jew becomes noted for his impatience, his irascibility, and even a suspicious cynicism toward those gentiles who may honestly wish him well.

ELLIS FREEMAN

Jews in a Gentile World, p. 162, 163

122. The fact that the Christian religion has regarded the Jew as a challenge and his survival as an offense merely served to bring forth persistent and stubborn acts of defiance. . . . It affects the Christians no less than the Jew and warps the judgment of the one as much as of the other.

I. S. WECHSLER

Essays on Anti-Semitism, p. 172, 173

123. The victims of prejudice are clamped on the circumference of a vicious circle. Prejudice provokes friction; friction breeds hostility; hostility leads to antagonism, which generates more prejudice, and so on ad nauseam.

HENRY A. DAVIDSON

Common Ground, Winter, 1941, p. 7

124. One thing is plain: Persecution cannot destroy us. It can only bring out the worst in us—and in you.

LEWIS BROWNE

Virginia Quarterly Review, Spring, 1939

125. We say that Jews are over-aggressive or clannish. They are different and we want to live and play with people like ourselves. Or do we?

The point we fail to realize is that, even if the above charges were true of all or most Jews, we should only increase the seriousness of the problem by discrimination and restriction. If we allowed

Jews to be normal, they would make the changes, now almost impossible, that would make them less different.

WILLARD JOHNSON
Religious Digest, June, 1941

126. In effect, American Jewish life has been as vitally affected by Hitler's invasion as American life itself. The ties of Jewish solidarity were to be broken in order to make it appear that we were quite different from the Jews over there. They were the refugees, but we were the Americans. Attempts were made to make it appear that Americanism and Judaism had certain basic peculiarities, and that the one could be exchanged for the other. In order not to be conspicuous, it was important to identify ourselves so completely with the free lands in which we lived as to become anonymous, and to make anonymous contributions to the victory that was to come, claiming no special share in the peace, seeking no special interest in the world of tomorrow.

LOUIS LIPSKY
Congress Weekly, May 29, 1942, p. 13

127. Over and above all, the Jewish tragedy for us lies in the danger of Jews forswearing their ideals, ideals by which and for which they have lived, not the ideal of religious loyalty, for, happily, religious disloyalty and infidelity do not avail to save the faithless. The real danger is that under the pressure of the Nazi movement, Jews may be moved consciously and deliberately to surrender their ideals, such high and abiding ideals as the ideals of democracy, of the forward-looking human collectivity, of war-resistance.

STEPHEN S. WISE
Nazism: An Assault on Civilization, p. 209

128. The persecution and oppression of the Jews which had lasted for ten centuries, did not pass without leaving their traces on them. They have sharpened the intellect and tempered the will-power of the Jews, but at the same time, they have been instrumental in depriving the Jews of the natural deportment and attitude of master nations. Much has been twisted by the lasting oppression, much has lost its equilibrium, much has been removed from the naturalness and the naïvete of happier nations. To this should be added the exile into the cities and into the ghetto with its physical and psychical influences.

COUNT HEINRICH COUDENHOVE-KALERGI
Anti-Semitism Throughout the Ages, p. 251

129. Perhaps the sorriest effect of ghetto life was the loss of Jewish self-respect. The Jew always cherished his honour. A just pride in his faith had, especially in Spain, bred a desire to appear well and speak with dignity. The ghetto broke down the ancient tradition. It produced the bedraggled, unkempt type, hunted in appearance and obsequious in demeanor, the type by which the world judged the Jew and his Judaism. Europe made the Jew a caricature and then scorned him for playing the part.

ABRAM L. SACHAR
A History of the Jews, p. 253-254

2. ON PERSECUTORS

130. . . . Jew spite, however petty or negligible at an early stage, leads to a collective neurosis of fiendish hate utterly devastating to the souls of Christians who indulge it.

EVERETT R. CLINCHY
Christian Century, November 30, 1938

131. Indeed the anti-Semitic corruption is more disastrous to the Christian world than to Jewry. The bloody atrocities that the Jews suffer throughout the world are a visible but weak image of the invisible devastation and degradation of souls that a Gentile world crazy with persecution or indifferent to justice and brotherhood is now suffering.

JACQUES MARITAIN
Commonweal, September 25, 1942

132. There is another selfish reason why Catholics should not take any part in anti-Semitic orgies: Those who succumb to such persecution hysteria inevitably suffer a spiritual degeneration. . . . One cannot practice sadism without becoming sadistic. . . . The man who yields his intellect to all sorts of slanders against members of another race or religion loses ability to think straight, to appreciate truth, to admire and emulate moral courage, to feel a glow for loyalty, despite all odds, for one's convictions. When finally he reaches a point where he can experience pleasure in the most barbarous cruelty against human beings, who are equally with himself children of one common Father, God, he has himself become a barbarian.

J. ELLIOT ROSS
American Ecclesiastical Review, May, 1939

133. Persecution brutalizes the persecutor. It plants the poison hatred in his soul. It leaves upon him indelible scars. It makes him

less a man and more a mad-hunting dog. It converts him from a human being into a brutalized wild beast, blood on his fangs and the lust of murder in his heart.

DANIEL A. LORD, S.J.

Dare We Hate the Jews?, p. 21

134. Compounded out of myth, fabrication, and purposeful malice, unrestricted by truth or conscience, anti-Semitism acts as a magic drug. Once quaffed, the drug grows an ass' head upon the befuddled individual, as in the story of Bottom, the weaver. Thereupon the poor ass sees no enemy, hears no enemy, and speaks of no enemy except the Jew.

LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WRITERS

We Hold These Truths, p. 14

135. The scapegoats of history have suffered tragic injustices, but persecution has never destroyed them. But the bad effects of intolerance upon the intolerant themselves have been evident from Nero to Hitler. Mental specialists who have studied these subjects have found extreme intolerance has a destructive effect on the mind, and often results in a condition similar to some forms of insanity. It undermines the personality and even physical health; it weakens the ability to enjoy normal life. In the long run, the hater is more to be pitied than the hated.

KENNETH M. GOULD

They Got the Blame, p. 53

136. To me, an anti-Semitic campaign is less terrible for the Jews who suffer from it, than it is for the Christians who foment it. Hatred is . . . a form of self-poisoning. Physically, it creates an auto-intoxication. Mentally, it throws a man completely off the level of sanity. Spiritually, it rots the soul. . . . A man who has given vent to his hatred . . . has undergone a physical poisoning and . . . corruption. . . . A man who has run through a ghetto screaming for Jewish blood or booty has done his own character far more harm than he could possibly do to his victims.

DANIEL A. LORD, S.J.

Dare We Hate the Jews?, p. 12

137. More and more we are recognizing that racial or religious animosity is an abnormality, and that to give room to it is unhealthy. Hate harms the person toward whom it is directed but it hurts more him who harbors it. Anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, and anti-Protestant fanaticism would be feared as we fear the bubonic plague when men became aware of the effects of hate upon the hater. The time may come when their friends will say to the rabidly intolerant:

"You are ill; you need mental and emotional hospital treatment." Hate-makers are as dangerous as typhoid-carriers.

It may be that he who is rabidly intolerant is a psychiatric case. He is the victim, perhaps, of a mental disorder that may lead ultimately to insanity. Or the indulgence of his hates may result in physical impairment or aggravate weaknesses or diseases to which he is already subject.

Hate of an extreme type predisposes its victims, especially to diseases of the heart, to hypertension, for example, or high blood-pressure that has no apparent physical cause. Hatred and hostility contribute also to diseases of the circulatory and nervous systems.

. . . Constriction, asphyxiation . . . is the safest generalization to make about people for whom hate is so vital a function. . . . Many avenues of receptivity to life have been closed. They are less aware of what is going on. They hear less, they see less, their experience becomes stereotyped along the pattern of their hostility. . . . The intellectual functions are specialized in building up accusations, constantly proving the presence of the enemy, and in justifying the hostility . . . and developing a special dialectic of hate. . . . It may be a universal rule that the destructive ideas or facts which are motivated in the hostile personality carry a fear of reprisals, and the feeling of guilt, which later amounts to the fear of punishment for the sin of hating.

EVERETT R. CLINCHY

The World We Want to Live In, p. 4-7

138. Now there is something else I should like to tell you: The assassins and the hangmen do their jobs. But what is as frightful as the assassins' deeds and the horror of racist extermination is the inaction of those who might act and the indifference of many decent people. Every morning they read in their newspapers accounts of new atrocities as regularly as they eat their breakfasts. They heave a sigh of indignation and go on to other news. They have gotten into the habit. This getting the habit of hell is one of the invisible crimes perpetrated on souls throughout the world by Nazi racism.

JACQUES MARITAIN

The Commonweal, June 4, 1943

139. The value to Hitler of butchering the Jews of occupied Europe lies precisely in the corroding effect that the repetition of cruelty and familiarity with arbitrary and barbarous government have upon the moral fibre of the democracies.

An Editorial in *The Nation*, February 27, 1943

140. Xenophobia degrades its practitioners as well as its victims. Booker T. Washington once said: "No white man can keep a Negro in the gutter without getting down there himself to hold him." The bigot is inevitably destined to become smug and arrogant. A satisfied feeling that "I belong to the master-group" dwarfs a man's range of experience and breeds smallness of mind. It cuts him off from enriching contacts, makes him expect promotions and favors which he does not merit, and suggests an unwholesome explanation (i.e., intrusion of "foreigners") for his failures.

Prejudice warps not only the individuals but also the morale of the community itself. . . . The existence of a custom-made bias in the faces of legal guarantees of equality provokes a feeling that ideals are impractical. It implies too, that not all laws (certainly not the equal rights statute) are to be taken seriously. It furnishes ammunition to the foes of democracy. It mimics the racial philosophy of the non-democratic nations. It sets up a pattern of master-peoples and subject-peoples. . . . It sorely tries the loyalty of victim groups to a way of government which scorns them. It embarrasses the defenders of democracy whose criticism of persecution in dictatorships is dampened by the retort: "How about discrimination in your own country?"

DR. HENRY A. DAVIDSON

Common Ground, Winter, 1941, p. 11

141. Inside Germany, anti-Semitism has taken so profound a hold upon the youth that they do not even know the word Jew as a name but only as a stigma.

RABBI PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

New Republic, April 26, 1943

142. It is no little matter, however, for a Christian to hate or despise or to wish to treat degradingly the race from which sprung his God and the Immaculate Mother of his God. That is why the bitter zeal of anti-Semitism always turns in the end into a bitter zeal against Christianity itself.

JACQUES MARITAIN

A Christian Looks at the Jewish Question, p. 42

143. A further aspect of anti-Semitism has been its success in making clear to the non-Jewish population that in order to be able to compete with the Jews they must, first of all, become as sober, as industrious, and as economical as the latter are.

COUNT HEINRICH COUDENHOVE-KALERGI

Anti-Semitism Throughout the Ages, p. 196

144. Race prejudice makes people ruthless. It incites violence. It is the opposite of "good character" as it is defined in the Christian religion. . . .

RUTH BENEDICT and GENE WELTFISH
The Races of Mankind, p. 21

145. Persecution of the Jews, as practiced by the Nazis, has served many useful purposes of the persecutors. They have succeeded in ridding themselves of a group which, by reason of its long-standing liberal democratic traditions, could never have made real peace with the new regime. They have enriched themselves considerably from the wealth of their victims, and have thus been able to increase the "wages of sin" available for payment to their friends and adherents. They have flooded neighboring countries with tens of thousands of refugees who, though generously received and befriended, were almost bound—once the first emotional wave of pity and indignation had subsided—to cause difficulties and create problems and friction, contributing thereby to the bedevilment of relations between Jew and Gentile even in tolerant and free countries like England or prewar France or Switzerland. This part of the Nazi scheme has not fully succeeded. It has, however, made the West "Jew-conscious"—aware of one more complexity in a life already overcrowded with urgent problems.

CHAIM WEIZMANN
Foreign Affairs, January, 1942

146. Denying all political, ethical, scientific, and religious values that are indigenous to democracy, prejudice has debilitating effect upon its carriers and its victims. . . . Prejudice leads to hate and bitterness. Violent hatred may become a mental disease that calls for treatment and not argument. But as in the case of other diseases, prevention is more effective than cure. . . . Therefore, knowledge is the basic but not the only remedy for this popular sin.

STERLING W. BROWN
Christian Advocate, February 8, 1945

CHAPTER II

TECHNIQUES OF ANTI-SEMITISM

1. ANALYSIS OF TECHNIQUE

147. Anti-Semitism is a cultivated plant and it can be kept alive by propaganda and by lies which it is not easy to refute. It has nothing to do with the proportion of Jews in a particular country. . . . Anti-Semitism . . . is not a natural sentiment. It is not based on the defects or the merits of the race or religion which the Hebrews represent. It is the product of artificial propaganda. The anti-Semitic propaganda does not rest on real qualities or faults, but on imaginary habits and practices, deliberately falsified.

GINA LOMBROSO

Opinion, November, 1939, p. 6, 7

148. 1. *Name Calling* is a device to make us form a judgment without examining the evidence on which it should be based. Hence the propagandist appeals to our hate and fear . . . supported by a complete mythology in which the Jews, Communism, and liberalism or democracy were held to be the major evil influences from which the National Socialists saved Germany.

2. *Glittering Generalities* is a device by which the propagandist identifies his program with "virtue words." Here he appeals to our emotions of love, generosity, and brotherhood.

. . . The virtue that the word "socialist" had come to connote in Germany was the reason for its inclusion in the official name of the National Socialist Party. Many Germans who believed in socialism were thus led to vote for a party whose leadership was committed to destroy Socialism.

The most sweeping generality is that conveyed by the word "Volk" (folk or people). The Volk, after purging itself of Jewish blood, is to return to the true Germanic tradition of the Middle Ages. To lend authority to this theory a "biological mythology" has had to be invented, and is now proclaimed by professors appointed to university chairs for that purpose. . . . The regime utilizes the word "science" to sanction practices, policies, beliefs, and races which it

wants approved. By "science" it obtains approval for the destruction of all opposition. . . ."

3. *Transfer* is a device by which the propagandist carries over the authority, sanction, and prestige of something we respect and revere to something he would have us accept.

Something approaching deification of Chancellor Hitler is an outstanding example of this device. Nazi propagandists seek to establish him as a quasi divinity and to transfer to him the religious feelings of the German people; then to transfer from him the "divine" sanction of the policies, practices, beliefs, and hatreds which he espouses.

For children the transfer device most frequently employed is the symbol of the Nazi hero—especially in his role of Soldier. Manliness is identified with the glory of the party and is used as a means of superiority toward women and a belief in the doctrines of militarism and anti-Semitism.

4. *The Testimonial* is a device to make us accept anything from a patent medicine or a cigarette to a program of national policy.

From the fact that "The Fuehrer knows the goal and knows the directions," it follows that his is the supreme testimonial. No authority and no judgment which does not follow or accord with his can be right . . . no recommendation can be better than his.

5. *Plain Folks* is a device used by politicians, labor leaders, business men, and even by ministers and educators to win our confidence by appearing to be people like ourselves—"just plain folks among the neighbors."

. . . Pictured as a man of the people meeting plain folks in their ordinary walks of life enjoying with them their simple work and pleasures.

6. *Card Stacking* is a device in which the propagandist employs all the arts of deception to win our support for himself, his group, nation, race, policy, practice, belief or ideal. He stacks the cards against the truth. He uses under-emphasis and over-emphasis to dodge issues and evade facts.

Quoting Hitler's *Mein Kampf*: "Propaganda does not seek objectively for the truth so far as it favors the opponent . . . but exclusively to serve our interests."

. . . The falsehoods inherent in card stacking arouse hatreds which have the effect of rallying the people against the supposed enemy or peril.

7. *The Bandwagon* is a device to make us follow the crowd, to accept the propagandist's program en masse. Here his theme is:

"Everybody's doing it." . . . His techniques range from those of medicine show to dramatic spectacle.

One of the great unifying principles adopted by the National Socialists is that of hate. Among the passages deleted from the English version of *Mein Kampf*, Hitler has written: " . . . Hate is more lasting than dislike, and thrusting power for the mightiest upheavals on this earth has at all times come less from scientific recognition than from a fanaticism that fills the souls of the masses and in a forward-driving hysteria."

In accordance with this principle, Jews, Communists, liberals, and democrats, become objects of hatred and scapegoats which could be made to suffer for the people's distress. . . . To bring all Germans upon the National Socialist bandwagon, the party propagandists play continuously upon the common fears, hatreds, prejudices, aspirations, and traditions. All propaganda devices culminate in this one. Not to get on the German bandwagon is the gravest heresy, tantamount to treason

Propaganda Analysis, May, 1938

149. Strategical skill may be judged according to the principles of combination and precaution. Combination involves two groupings that differ slightly with each other in principles and the successful effort of one to unite with the other or at least to co-operate with it. Accordingly, anti-Semitic organizations would have been wise to co-operate with organizations that were merely anti-Revolutionary. Co-operating with such organizations on the basis of common opposition to revolutionary ideology and tactful efforts to spread the idea that most revolutionaries are Jews might have been quite astute. Winrod's address before the Peabody, Kansas, American Legion Post . . . [is an example] of the use of this technique. Nevertheless, it has not been fully exploited. The principle of precaution means that a proponent's propaganda must be of such a nature that it will not bring about an invincible combination of opponents. The anti-Semitic movement as a whole has observed this principle, for it has not made the mistake of also being anti-Catholic. It might have fallen into this trap quite easily; in the past, anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism have been combined. Lack of precaution would, of course, have resulted in a union of America's two great religious minorities—the Jews and the Catholics. That this mistake has been avoided is indicated by the presence of Father Coughlin and his vast Catholic following in the anti-Semitic movement.

DONALD S. STRONG

Organized Anti-Semitism in America, p. 167-168

2. THE BIG LIE

150. "... A definite factor in getting a lie believed is the size of the lie ... for the broad mass of the people, in the primitive simplicity of its heart, more readily falls victim to a big lie than to a small one." (Adolf Hitler)

The doctrine of the big lie enables Hitler ... to state (May 1935) ... "We are prepared to do everything to arrive at a true peace and a real friendship with the French Nation," while he continues to present to every newly-wed couple in Germany free copies of *Mein Kampf* ... in which he ... shouts ... "France is the deadly enemy of our nation. ... " The same big lie principle enabled Hitler to reaffirm in his ... speech of February 20th, 1938, the accord with Austria of July 11th, 1936, by which the Reich Government recognized the full and independent sovereignty of the Austrian Federal State, while he was perfecting or had already perfected, the elaborate and minute preparations for the sudden and overwhelming invasion of Austria on March 12, 1938.

E. O. LORIMER

What Hitler Wants, p. 41-42

151. The apostle of bigotry employs a technique that is often effective with intelligent men. He lays a foundation of falsehood having the appearance of truth—and in our day, he employs for this foundation, every means of communication known to modern man. If he is told often enough, it is said, even the liar himself will believe it, and it is certainly true that lies have survived many generations of periodic exposure.

ARCHBISHOP FRANCIS J. SPELLMAN

The American, March, 1944

152. The great masses' receptive ability is only very limited, their understanding is small, but their forgetfulness is great. As a consequence of these facts, all effective propaganda has to limit itself only to a very few points and to use them like slogans until even the very last man is able to imagine what is intended by such a word. As soon as one sacrifices this basic principle and tries to become versatile, the effect will fritter away, as the masses are neither able to digest the material offered nor to retain it. Thus the result is weakened and finally eliminated. ... Propaganda's task is ... not to evaluate the various rights, but far more to stress exclusively the one that is to be represented by it. It has not to search into truth as far as this is favorable to others, in order to present it then to the masses with doctrinary honesty, but it has rather to serve its own

truth uninterruptedly . . . burden the enemy entirely with . . . guilt . . . even if . . . not in accordance with the real facts. . . . The great mass of people is not composed of diplomats or even teachers of political law, nor even of purely reasonable individuals who are able to pass judgment, but of human beings who are as undecided as they are inclined towards doubt and uncertainty. As soon as by one's own propaganda even a glimpse of right on the other side is admitted, the cause for doubting one's own right is laid. . . .

. . . Nevertheless, all geniality in the make-up of propaganda will not lead to success unless a fundamental principle is considered with continually sharp attention: It has to confine itself to little and to repeat this eternally. Here, too, persistency . . . is the first and the most important condition for success. . . . The masses . . . with their inertia, always need a certain time before they are ready even to notice a thing, and they will lend their memories only to the thousandfold repetition of the most simple ideas. A change must never alter the content of what is being brought forth by propaganda, but in the end it always has to be the same. Thus the slogan has to be illuminated from various sides, but the end of every reflection has always and again to be the slogan itself. Only thus can, and will propaganda have uniform and complete effect.

This great line alone, which one must never leave, brings the final success to maturity by constantly regular and consistent emphasis. But then one will be able to determine with astonishment to what enormous and hardly understandable results such perseverance will lead.

ADOLF HITLER

Mein Kampf, p. 234, 236-240

3. AS A POLITICAL WEAPON

153. With the accession of Adolf Hitler, science and learning became even more the hand-maids of the State. . . . The task of scholarship became that of providing a "scientific" cover for the social, economic and political tenets of the Nazi creed. . . .

What is true of historical research is equally true of the "science" of "Judaology" in particular. It exists but for one purpose: to bolster the policies of the Nazi Party. It has to provide the necessary "evidence" that Nazi measures against the Jews are not just the products of ruthless barbarity but are based on a realization of national, and even international, imperialistic needs. Alternatively, it must demonstrate both at home and abroad that the Jews are merely

getting their deserts. Moreover, by harping on the theme that the "Jewish question" is of equal moment to all nations, the literature of the new "science" opens the door for Nazi propaganda and influence in foreign countries, disseminating also, as a necessary corollary, the doctrine of racial purity and the theory that Jews are a useless group, incapable and unworthy of survival.

Thus, to justify the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, the new "science" provided the necessary "evidence" that Jews had always been aliens within the German nation and always bent on its hurt. . . .

Once the public was imbued with the notion that Jews and their descendants were worthless and baneful, it was a simple thing to smear all opponents of the regime with the taint of belonging to the "Chosen People" or of being their "fellow travelers." It thus became possible to lump all antagonists into a single class, in accordance with the technique expressly laid down by Hitler in *Mein Kampf*.

BERNARD D. WEINRYB

Contemporary Jewish Record, April, 1941, p. 150, 152, 153

154. We know . . . that these new leaders are shrewd, crafty politicians who are conscious of the value of anti-Semitism as a means of serving an immediate political following.

By an anti-Semitic attack on the Jew and Judaism they succeed not only in damning liberalism and democracy, but they also damn religion, one of the chief sources of democracy and individualism. By besmirching Judaism, they besmirch Christianity, the daughter of religion, and prepare the way for its ultimate dissolution as a significant public institution.

JACOB R. MARCUS

Contemporary Jewish Record, October, 1941, p. 502, 505

155. The Nazis were the first to discover the technique of using a minority within the country as a means of getting into power. I refer to the exploitation of anti-Semitism by Nazis in Germany to seize political power and control of the government. . . .

The first trick of Fascism is to create a mode of hysteria in a country. Hitler said in his book *Mein Kampf*, that his driving motive of social change is not so much insight as hysteria. . . .

The way to create this hysteria is the science of propaganda. . . . The first step is to undermine the confidence of the people in their own government and in democratic institutions. . . . Then there is an effort to create strife by turning class against class, group against group, and race against race, by aggravating every situation, by intensifying every point of conflict. . . .

The technique of the American Fascist is like the technique of the European Fascist: That is the exploitation of anti-Semitism as a weapon . . . to overthrow democracy. . . .

The Nazis have shown how anti-Semitism can be used in every country to destroy democracy. It is the surest way of disintegrating and destroying the solidarity of a people and preparing them to become an easy victim for the forces of reaction or for actual conquest. . . .

Anti-Semitism is the classic trade mark of the Fascist adventurer or movement.

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Unity—A Challenge to American Democracy, p. 14, 15, 16, 17

156. That Hitler soon found his anti-Jewish campaign a shrewd device for gaining power is clear from his own statements. Hermann Rauschning, once a Nazi supporter, quotes Hitler, in *The Voice of Destruction*, as telling his cronies: "My Jews are a valuable hostage, given to me by the democracies. Anti-Semitic propaganda in all countries is an indispensable medium for the extension of our political campaign. You will see how little time we shall need in order to upset the ideas . . . of the whole world, simply and purely by attacking Judaism."

To explain all his misfortunes, Hitler and his Nazis found the Jews a simple scapegoat, flattering to their National pride. They argued that Germany did not lose the war, because the Army had been "stabbed in the back" by socialists, pacifists, and Jews (alleged to be identical terms). . . . They blamed the acute sufferings of the inflation period on "Jewish exploiters." The Dawes Plan and the Young Plan for reparation payments were attributed to "Jewish international bankers."

KENNETH M. GOULD

They Got the Blame, p. 38

157. . . . Anti-Semitism has always been a weapon in the hands of Tory, reactionary, and anti-Democratic movements. Like anti-Catholicism, like anti-alienism and anti-Negroism, it is an unprincipled, degraded maneuver for dividing the people, for substituting false racial issues in place of consideration of real problems, for confusing the masses of people as to the causes of social distress by first blinding them with the poisoned juices of minority hatred—all this, in the ultimate hope that the people may be harnessed to the spiked wheels of political reaction.

An Editorial in *Equality*, May, 1939

158. Even in this country a large proportion of anti-Jewish agitation and propaganda is directly attributable to the Nazi influence. As in Germany and in every country they have invaded or threatened, the Nazis are employing anti-Semitism as a political weapon against the United States, as a preparation prior to military attack or economic domination. It is a new method of warfare.

The theory is that a nation can be demoralized and paralyzed by the promotion of hostility, dissension, and confusion. Every antagonism is utilized—racial, religious, ethnic, and class. Groups are pitted against each other. Accusations and counter-charges fly thick and fast. The propagandists care not how many people believe their lies. Confusion is their goal. No one knows what is true and confusion reigns supreme. Then the aggressors march in—seize control through a few carefully placed agents and the blitzkrieg is over.

Thus the Nazi leaders . . . employ anti-Semitism as an instrument of revolution.

WILLARD JOHNSON

Religious Digest, June, 1941

159. Hitler does not want to rid Germany of them immediately; they are too useful to him for the present time. If he can have them marked with the yellow spot, easily accessible and identifiable in their isolated ghettos, he can pounce down on them with blood-thirsty Nazis and conduct pogroms like those of Russia in Czarist days. Thus he can whet and keep whetted the sadistic instinct he has uncovered in his immediate and most fanatic followers; and he can also take the minds of millions of Germans off their needs, hungers, and discontents. Like the degenerate Roman Emperor who kept a small stock of Christians on hand to throw to the hungry lions, Hitler will always retain a few Jews for the amusement and excitement of the restless Nazi crowds.

MARTHA DODD

Through Embassy Eyes, p. 310

160. . . . The persecution of Jews . . . has been equally an effective means whereby the Nazis first entrenched themselves in power in Germany and then extended their sway over the rest of the European Continent. Wherever their arms were victorious, anti-Semitism facilitated the triumph of German arms. This was part of Hitler's planning for years. He made few bones about it in . . . *Mein Kampf*. That it is still a part of Hitler's planning appears clearly in the following quotation from a speech delivered in the summer of 1942 by one of his henchmen, Stormtrooper-leader

Weaver-Best: "The Jewish question is dynamite with which we blast the forth where the last liberalist snipers have their nest, since countries which abandon Jews thereby abandon their former Judaized way of living with false ideals of liberty. . . ."

SOLOMON A. FINEBERG

Overcoming Anti-Semitism, p. 2, 3

161. Nazi anti-Semitism was not fostered simply for its open and obvious purpose of striking at Jews. It had other indirect objectives. For countries other than Germany it had propaganda value: that is, it encouraged the idea that Nazism was directed only against a minority group. It served also to arouse anti-Semitism everywhere, creating divisions in nations potentially or actually hostile to Germany.

In the Reich itself, applied anti-Semitism served several purposes: It created an artificial superiority complex in the minds of all non-Jewish Germans; it permitted an attack on the laws protecting the civil liberties of all citizens by first breaching those laws in the case of a defenseless minority of citizens; it served the incidental purpose of securing for the Nazi Party leaders the assets of the victims.

PAUL WINKLER

Washington Post

162.

Dear Dr. Wise:

The attempt by Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party to rule Germany, to rule Europe, and then to rule the Western World, was based on two brutal devices: organized terror and organized anti-Semitism. Terror put Hitler in power and kept him there. Anti-Semitism was the terror's counterpart in propaganda. In the name of the self-styled Master race, Hitler robbed, first his own people, then the peoples of Europe, and tomorrow, by his own boast, would have robbed the world. . . .

Some of the sources of anti-Semitism in this country were created to serve Hitler's purpose. Let every American look to his own mind and actions so that while we defeat Hitler's armies we also defeat his poisonous propaganda. Whoever condones or participates in anti-Semitism plays Hitler's game. There is no place in the lives or thoughts of true Americans for anti-Semitism.

February 9, 1944

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Congress Weekly, February 18, 1944

163. Modern anti-Semitism . . . is above all else a political technique. As such it is integrally related at every stage to the Fascist purpose and program. . . . Thus anti-Semitism, by diverting the people from the social and economic realities that were at the heart of their plight, by fostering unity through the creation of a common enemy and a symbol of hate, and by holding forth the elimination of the Jews as a social panacea was a vital factor in the rise of Nazis to authority in the State. . . . And even where Nazi propaganda has failed positively to create any substantial measure of anti-Semitism, it has been, so far as the Nazis are concerned, an eminent success. Everywhere it has encouraged social dissension. It has sowed suspicion and distrust. It has inspired movements and political groups to internal disagreements and squabbles over the "Jewish Problem." It has bred accusations and counter-accusations, threats and recriminations. It has helped to discredit the opponents of Fascism by identifying them with Jews and Jewry. To the extent that anti-Semitism has fostered that social dissension it has served to weaken both the will and ability of nations to resist the challenge of Nazism. . . . Everywhere, the assault on democracy is being ushered in by the barrage of anti-Semitism. Increasing awareness of those tactics has made for a much more general recognition that anti-Semitism is one of the most potent weapons in the Fascist arsenal.

DAVID W. PETEGORSKY
Antioch Review, Fall, 1941

4. CREATE DISUNITY

164. All intelligent and impartial observers had suspected for years that the Nazis were encouraging anti-Semitic propaganda outside of Germany, not so much to do in the Jews but simply to get the Gentiles fighting among themselves over the Jewish question. . . .

Someone made a telling point . . . that just reading in the papers about the Semitic question, such as persecutions of the Jews in Germany, Nazi tirades against Jews . . . got people thinking about the whole business and thereby aroused latent anti-Semitism, which has always existed in America. . . .

. . . Anti-Semitism . . . was one of the propaganda devices by which the Nazi exploited ideological sympathies and harnessed them to a purely German cause.

EDMONT TAYLOR
The Strategy of Terror—Europe's Inner Front, p. 74, 87, 107

165. The real traitors in America are the Nazi agents, propagandists, and sympathizers. . . . Many of them are super-patriots who make fervent protestations of their love for America on every occasion. All of them use anti-Semitism as a smoke screen to conceal their real aims. . . .

To win supporters, the Nazis ascribed to democracy those characteristics which they knew would arouse the antipathy of certain groups here. Thus, to bigoted and intolerant elements, American democracy was described as Jewish; to opponents of Communism, democracy was portrayed as essentially Communistic; and to opponents of Capitalism, the Capitalistic elements of democracy were stressed. In this way, advantage was taken of economic conditions to sharpen class lines between Americans. . . .

The technique of setting group against group in order to break down national unity is a favorite one among fifth-column propagandists.

NATHANIEL H. GOODRICH

Contemporary Jewish Record, July, August, 1940,
p. 370, 371, 372, 373

166. The aim of the merchants of hate is to pit group against group in order to create confusion and then substitute dictatorship for democracy. They try to turn Christian against Jew, Catholic against Protestant, White against Negro. They use anti-Semitism to turn worker against worker, employer against employer, teacher against teacher, and all of them against each other. The result of rising anti-Semitism is division and antagonism—the raw materials of chaos.

LEO W. SCHWARTZ

Where Hope Lies, p. 136, 137

167. Need I repeat the causes of war, which are the causes of anti-Semitism? Given an alien group or people, a social body that can be distinguished and whipped, hatred is ignited in times of economic pressure and hunger, and is directed towards the alien by the governing powers, oftenest in order to divert the anger of the people from the strong and the rich, by making the masses believe the alien to be in possession of what they lack and to blame for their want. . . . There follows, always, that madness which is necessary in order that human beings may have the heart to murder one another. An ideology. In old times it was religious; today it is political and racial. Always it pretends that attack is defense; always it puts a halo of superiority about the head of the aggressor and a stigma of inferiority on the brow of the oppressed, so that it may justify

in human terms the dark biologic trends of hunger and fear, the arts of theft and murder.

JESSIE SAMPTER

How to Combat Anti-Semitism in America, p. 72, 73

168. Father Coughlin . . . will start many a quotable affirmation, and then add a few words which make one wonder what it is all about.

As a rule he sticks to rhetoric and remains incomprehensible. . . .

After reading and hearing many of his speeches, I am struck by their technical similarity to those of Hitler. These, too, are vague and emotional. . . . Like Hitler's, the priest's speeches top the underlying prejudices of listeners. Hitler for years played skillfully on the resentment against the Versailles Treaty and against social conditions. Coughlin plays on the wide-spread animosity toward the bankers and the yearning for social justice. RAYMOND GRAM SWING

Propaganda Analysis, June 1, 1939, p. 68

169. The purveyors of hatred, the provokers of division and strife, the swaggering apostles of force and violence, are methodically and with premeditation laboring to bring to the United States the same conditions of group-hatred and civil war that have destroyed the peace of Europe. Treacherously they camouflage their true nature by representing themselves to the unwary as defenders of God, America, and the Constitution. Unscrupulously, they stir up riots in the city streets, they intimidate peaceful citizens, they invade meetings, and they peddle as truth the malicious lies which people of their ilk have invented to blacken those whom they hate.

FRANK MURPHY

New York Times, January 7, 1940

170. . . . Hitler . . . appealed primarily to the processes of frustration, displacement, and anxiety. The Germans were frustrated—the natural result of a series of disasters: loss of war; inflation; and then the impact of a devastating depression. . . . He set before them hopes and aspirations, in the seeking of which they could canalize their frustration in terms of aggressive action. Shrewdly, to the masses, he gave an outlet for their aggressiveness: destroy the Jews.

By the psychological process of displacement, the Germans were eager to shift the blame for defeat, inflation, and depression upon some scapegoat. Historically, the Jews provided it.

DONALD S. STRONG

Organized Anti-Semitism in America, p. 1

171. While the immediate object of Nazi broadcasters is to keep America immobilized, their long-range aim . . . is to split America into numerous intensely individualistic, partisan groups which would quarrel and fight among themselves until a thorough disintegration of national unity has resulted. To confuse, divide and create panic—this is the strategy of terror used by Nazi terrorists.

Nor are personalities, no matter how respected, safe from Nazi slander. The noted financier, J. P. Morgan, is referred to as a "Jewish banker," while the late Cardinal Mundelein, a vigorous fighter of Nazism, is spoken of as a "Jew-slave."

MILTON E. KRENTS and MAX ERLICH
Contemporary Jewish Record, November-December, 1940

172. The Nazi propagandists were not replicas of the blunders of 1914. Adolf Hitler and his associates had learned something. The lesson they had learned in part was that Americans made the best propagandists, that discretion was the better part of propaganda. They relied more on Charles E. Coughlin, less on Fritz Kuhn, and they relied more on whispering campaigns than on torrid talk. Anti-Semitism was primarily underground propaganda, sped by word-of-mouth. Only occasionally was it shouted from a soapbox by an Aryan-looking young man who said he belonged to the Christian Front. . . . When they encouraged disunion on domestic issues, they were more effective, especially when this was done by native fronts.

HAROLD LAVINE and JAMES WECHSLER
War Propaganda and the United States, p. 35

173. . . . The Fifth Column that betrays a nation unprepared for treachery . . . spies, saboteurs, and traitors . . . an added technique for weakening a nation at its very roots . . . a group—not too large—a group that may be sectional or racial or political—is encouraged to exploit their prejudices through false slogans and emotional appeals. The aim of those who deliberately egg on these groups is to create confusion of counsel, public indecision, political paralysis, and eventually a state of panic. All this is no idle dream. These dividing forces I do not hesitate to call undiluted poison.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
Quoted by George Britt in *The Fifth Column Is Here*, p. 1, 2

174. Hate by one American of another because of race, color, or religion, isn't created full blown by any single act or circumstance. It is the product of a thousand tongues, a thousand falsities, spread more, perhaps, by individual word of mouth among the peo-

ple than from any speaker's platform. It is the product of whispered stories, of wild rumors, of written and verbal innuendoes, of slighting remarks, of false statements, of clever jokes and catch lines, of tales that prey on the fears of those who listen—all of these with Jews, or Catholics, or Negroes, as their butts. Those are the things which fan racial hate to proportions that flame into open violence, like as not between the minority groups themselves.

That flood of hate passed on from mouth to mouth among the people takes on sanction and approval for no other reason than that those who listen more often than not do not bother to nail the speaker with the facts or with a challenge. When the spreaders of racial and religious prejudices know that their words will be met with the cold, blunt statement that they are mouthing fascist racism stemming from our enemies, much of it will stop.

An Editorial in *PM*, November 1, 1943, p. 3

175. We should know enough about Nazi methods by now to recognize that the first move in the Hitler attack is the stirring up of hatred against the Jews. The pattern has been followed with perfect regularity in each and every one of the conquered countries. . . .

The simple fact is that any American citizen who repeats ugly rumors about the Jews is making himself an agent of Adolf Hitler. . . . Whatever his motives may be, the result of his actions is the same: He is betraying his country. . . . We in America cannot afford this luxury. We need unity as never before. Watch the man who talks against the Jews. Whether he knows it or not, he is Hitler's agent in America.

Louisville Courier-Journal

176. The Tsar's police in union with the landlords and capitalists organized Jewish pogroms. They attempted to divert the natural hatred of the workers and peasants for the exploiters towards the Jews. Even in other countries one often experiences that the capitalists stir up enmity against the Jews, in order to divert the attention of the workers from the real enemy of the working masses, capital.

N. LENIN

5. IDENTIFICATION WITH "HATE" SYMBOLS

177. The methods of the propaganda may be simply classified. For the average timid soul, identification of the Jews with the Reds. For the romantic moron, the grand conspiracy of the Elders of Zion. For the blase society lady, the fake letter of Franklin. For the anti-New Dealer, a catalogue of Government posts held by Jews under

the New Deal and a "proof" that obnoxious New Deal measures were devised by Felix Frankfurter, Mordechai Ezekial, or Jerome Frank. For the small business man, assertions that the great corporations destroying him are controlled by Jews. For the Fundamentalists, blood ritual whisperings. For the southern gentleman, identification of the Jew with Negro domination. Nothing for the parlor anti-Semite, who hates the Jew on his own, to the admiration of his women folk. . . .

We cannot confront the anti-Semitic propagandist face to face, because he only flees, scattering lies behind him. ALVIN JOHNSON
Survey Graphic, February, 1939

178. Anti-Semitism has been the chameleon of history; it is constantly changing its ground; it is always making new appeals to the particular prejudices of the age; it appropriates the most hated labels of any period and attaches them to this unhappy people.

FATHER JOSEPH N. MOODY
Why Are Jews Persecuted?, p. 31

179. A basic Nazi propaganda technique is the defamation and libel of racial and religious groups opposed to Nazism. It is part of a calculated strategy of psychological warfare against the enemies of Nazi Germany.

In selecting the Jews as the chief object of his propaganda activities, Hitler found a useful solvent, a universal means of weakening his enemies by stirring up racial and religious antagonisms among them and by discrediting all those who were opposed to him. . . .

The Jews in Germany were blamed for the military defeat, for the inflation, for the depression, and for every disturbance of the social and economic order. Every propaganda device was used by the Nazis to make the term "Jew" odious. Once the Jew became hateful through the processes of libel, slander, and forgery, the Nazis were able to discredit every institution opposed to them through the simple process of labelling them Jews.

The same propaganda techniques against the Jews have been used by the Nazis to weaken other countries. Thus, false and defamatory anti-Semitic propaganda is not a minor aberration, the product of crackpots, but a diabolical weapon used against all peoples whom the Nazis wish to conquer. It is one of the principal methods employed by the Nazis to undermine every government opposed to their march of conquest.

JUDGE NATHAN D. PERLMAN
Congress Weekly, November 26, 1943

180. Anti-Semitic ideology is merely a variation of anti-world-radical-revolutionary ideology and similarly a variation of the national radical revolutionary ideology. So-called anti-Semitic ideology is really anti-revolutionary, anti-Semitic ideology. The Jews and the revolutionary are closely identified as one and the same thing. As a political ideology, anti-Semitism without an anti-revolutionary aspect is so rare as to be almost unknown. That anti-revolutionary and anti-Semitic sentiments should be grouped together in one ideology is not surprising. Let us recall that opposition to revolutionary movements always occurs in the name of an aroused nationalism.

Any intensively nationalistic movement is against the alien. . . . Any minority is looked upon with suspicion. The Jew is everywhere a national minority—the perpetual alien. Hence he is an eligible target for any aroused minority. Revolutionary ideas, can of course, be conveniently identified with the Jews. Revolutionary ideas are held to be alien; hence these alien ideas must be disseminated by the alien people in our midst, the Jews. Thus arises the identification of Jews with the revolutionary ideology. One discredits the revolutionary ideology by pinning the Jewish label on it.

DONALD M. STRONG

Organized Anti-Semitism in America, p. 4

181. The Fascist technique is simple. First, make the words "Jew," and "Communist" so odious that people will shrink from anything or anybody on which they may be pinned. Then, you have only to call those people you don't like "Communist" or "Jewish" in order to destroy them.

Card-stacking is the propaganda technique by which the Fascists hope to make the names "Jew," and "Communist" bad names. And in this, of course, they follow Adolf Hitler's observation that "... propaganda . . . does not have to seek objectivity for the truth so far as it favors an opponent . . . but exclusively has to serve our interests." It must adopt every device of slander that ingenuity can suggest, for "... whenever our propaganda permits for a single moment the shimmer of an appearance of right on the other side, it has laid a foundation for doubt in the right of our cause. . . ."

Hence, the American Fascists, like the German Nazis, have no qualms whatsoever about telling out-and-out lies, misquoting documents, or even forging documents.

After making "Jew" and "Communist" bad names, the Fascists can strike at everybody and everything opposed to Fascism simply by labeling them "Jew" or "Communist."

Propaganda Analysis, January 1, 1939, p. 14, 17

182. Anti-Semitic propaganda has shown great adaptiveness and ingenuity in the way its appeals keep abreast with the changing focus of public attention. All current events are construed so that they appear as further proof of the Jewish revolution—and conspiracy. For instance, the anti-syphilis campaign recently conducted by the United States Public Health Service was interpreted as a Jewish plot to infect the Gentile population with syphilis.

DONALD M. STRONG

Organized Anti-Semitism in America, p. 167

183. To win the way to power the National Socialists used all the techniques of propaganda, all the avenues for its dissemination which modern science and invention have made possible, and all the old appeals and shibboleths. . . .

Hitler, the master propagandist, knew that propaganda to be effective, must be keyed to the desires, hopes, hatreds, loves, fears, and prejudices of the people; he knew that most human beings crave a scapegoat to take the blame of disaster and to bolster their own pride. The Jews were made the scapegoat. He blamed them not only for the existing unemployment and impoverishment, but also for the loss of the war and the Treaty of Versailles. But the anti-Jewish propaganda had even greater value to Nazism than the mere creation of a scapegoat. Through the Jews, Hitler was able to strike anyone, Jew or non-Jew, opposed to Nazism, and to discredit any plan which aimed at the peaceful rehabilitation of Germany. Hitler's objective was to create in the minds of Germans an ugly image of "Jew." The word "Jew" was deliberately made synonymous with everything the Germans resented and hated or could be led to resent and hate. Once that was done, Nazi agitators revived or manufactured for circulation, notorious forgeries, which branded all those persons as Jews who did or said anything not in accord with Nazi ideas. To attack the Dawes plan, for example, it became necessary to label Dawes as a Jew. . . . The banking house of J. P. Morgan, which acted as a house of issue for a German government loan opposed by Hitler, was promptly branded as a Jewish banking house and the Morgan name given as an abridgment of the more Jewish-sounding Morgantern. Similarly the entire French nation, whom the Nazis consider to be Germany's natural enemy, was described as a nation of Jews.

The Germans, Hitler said, were the world's greatest race, supreme in the arts of peace and unconquerable in war unless betrayed by the Jews. Thus, he was able to give to the National Socialist

program the driving power of strong Nationalism, coupled with the emotional appeal of racial superiority, intensified by hatred of the despised Jews.

Propaganda Analysis, May, 1938, p. 40, 41

184. The utilization of the Jewish issue in the Hitler technique of undermining the democracies has not . . . been so obscure. It has been based on Hitler's assumption that many non-Jews are to some extent anti-Semitic. . . .

If now this latent anti-Semitism can be fanned into flame by false accusations which tie up the Jews with all sorts of unpopular causes and evils in the modern world—Communism, "International banking," war-mongering, etc.—a large group is created which is not merely passively anti-Semitic, but actively so. If such a group is organized . . . it is in the beginning characterized by no other common denominator than the anti-Semitism of its members. . . . Once having created this false bond of sympathy, the enemies of democracy can proceed to the real objectives of their program, marshalling the group into all sorts of anti-democratic activities aimed at undermining and eventually supplanting our traditional Americanism.

To put the matter simply, the technique of the anti-Semites is based on their premise that anti-Semitism can be made the initial focal point around which to build a following—a following which can be used to serve their destructive purposes. If the public can be continually made aware of some mythical "Jewish menace," if, moreover, the Jews, themselves can be maneuvered into a defensive position, frantically trying to answer questions dishonestly hurled at them, the public's attention will be distracted and the purposes of the Nazi-inspired groups will be furthered.

. . . The Nazis have . . . chosen the issue of "Civilization against the Jews," an issue which, if one accepts it, classes the Jews with all the enemies of mankind, and on the other hand, makes it appear that the anti-Semites are the defenders of all the cherished things of life.

This issue every intelligent man knows to be a false issue. What must be done is to eliminate it . . . from the public mind. The battle ground itself must be shifted. . . . The anti-Semites themselves must be put on the defensive. . . . In place of the spurious issue of "The Jew versus civilization," the true issue must be stressed, that is, the issue of "Civilization versus nihilism."

. . . Arguments that the Jews are not Communists, that they are not war-mongers, that they are not dishonest in business—these

though based on fact, only serve to stress the anti-Semitic issue itself, burning into the public consciousness more deeply than ever the impression that it is simply a battle between the Jews on the one hand and their enemies on the other. For Jews to meet every attack merely with reasoned proofs that the attack is unjustified, is to fall into the very trap set for them by the anti-Semites, who know the Jews' proverbial righteous indignation, and who have counted on it in their strategy of attack and provocation. . . . Put on the defensive . . . they scurry around the country broadcasting the very material which the anti-Semites themselves wish to spread. . . . The result is to exaggerate the spread of anti-Semitism and to suggest that perhaps the smart thing to do is to follow the crowd. In this way a "bandwagon psychology" is actually built up against themselves.

When a radio operator quotes forged documents like the Protocols of Zion, it will not do merely to circulate an erudite analysis, again proving the forgery of these documents; what we must do is to make clear to the American people that the source of these forgeries is closely identified with the enemies of civilization throughout the world and that anti-Jewish propaganda is simply the opening gun in a campaign to undermine the liberties of free men.

RICHARD C. ROTHSCHILD

Contemporary Jewish Record, January-February, 1940,
p. 10, 11, 12, 15

185. Less rational were the anti-war cries of the extreme Rightist groups, many of whom were openly sympathetic to Hitlerism, all of whom were its apologists. They said that the war was a "Jewish" war, that it was foisted upon the world by a "Jewish conspiracy," that American boys were summoned to die for the "Jewish cause," that all the world's ill could be laid at the door of "World Jewry." The solution: Eliminate them and presto! Peace will return. . . . These keynotes were not suddenly fashioned. They were the keynotes of the anti-Semitic drive which had begun many months before in America—It did not matter that the "Jewish Conspiracy" was imaginary. In depression-ridden America there were many people in search of a scapegoat as an alternative to salvation. The fact that the bulk of American Jewry supported the Allied cause was invoked to sustain the cry of "Jewish war." By the same token, it was a Catholic war—Catholics had been mercilessly persecuted in Germany—and a Protestant war—since many Protestant spokesmen said that Christianity was at stake.

HAROLD LAVINE and JAMES WECHSLER
War Propaganda and the United States, p. 120

186. The Nazis vilified Jews as the cause not only of local political discontent and economic distress, but of all the world's major troubles; they denounced them alternately as blood-sucking capitalists and subversive Bolsheviks, according to prevailing circumstances or passing crises; they identified them with everything that was unpopular in the public life or administrative system of each country. They aimed at the two-fold object of provoking enmity and discrimination against Jews and undermining the bases of government. . . . Their anti-Semitic propaganda served as a smoke screen, behind which they could stir up demoralization, disaffection, and dissension. No sooner had they captured either individuals or groups in the "Racial" snare than they were able to recruit them for their underground army of quislings and fifth columnists. . . .

In all countries south of the United States the same technique was employed of propagating anti-Semitism as a smoke-screen behind which subversive and seditious plots could be hatched. In none of these countries did Judeophobia appear in an organized form until it was fomented by German agents.

The sinister part that anti-Semitism has played in poisoning the minds of people and preparing the way for acts of sedition and treachery has unfortunately not been recognized by most governments.

ISRAEL COHEN

Contemporary Jewish Record, December, 1941

CHAPTER III.

ALLEGED CAUSES OF ANTI-SEMITISM

A. ECONOMICS

1. USURY

187. The second factor contributing to anti-Semitism is the economic. Originally the Jew showed little aptitude for commercial activities. The ancient Hebrews were almost exclusively farmers and herdsmen and the Bible gives eloquent evidence of their love for the land. Only when they were forced to leave their homeland and come in contact with the highly commercialized Babylonians and Greeks did the Jews develop that instinct for commerce which characterizes them today. During the Middle Ages they were forbidden to own land, and their choice of profession was restricted by law to trade and moneylending. After the crusades, even commerce was largely forbidden them, and they were driven to seek their livelihood in the lending of money at interest.

Usury was forbidden to the Christian by ecclesiastical law, but the growing economic activity of the later medieval period made credit necessary. The Jews supplied this need not because of any predisposition but simply because all other avenues were closed. They were protected in this capacity by the kings and local rulers, who needed money and who found a lucrative source of revenue in the annual fees which the Jews paid for "protection." In an age which knew no systematic taxation the readiest reservoir of cash was found to be the Jew, who was squeezed for as much as possible. The insatiable demands of the public authorities and the insecurity of their own position forced these moneylenders to charge exorbitant rates of interest, which further embittered the populace against them. It was during this period that the popular notion of the Jews' natural thirst for gold arose—a charge that was unknown before the 12th century. It is significant that in the two-volume index to Thalhofer's well-known German edition of *The Christian Fathers*, a work of eighty large volumes, the word Jew does not occur a single time under the following headings: usury, covetousness, avarice, exaction of interest.

Bernard Lazare, who can hardly be accused of bias in favor of the Jew, comments in a recent edition of his classic *L'Anti-Semitisme, Son Histoire et Ses Causes*, on the accidental character of the Israelites' connection with finance: "The Jews did not invent the practice of usury. . . . The canons of the Church proscribed the loaning of money at interest, but the social conditions were such that usury was inevitable. The ecclesiastical synods could not change the laws of economics. . . . The Jews were forced to conduct a business that was discredited, but necessary. They were not the cause of the evils of usury, which stemmed from the social order itself."

FATHER JOSEPH N. MOODY

Why Are Jews Persecuted?, p. 39, 40, 41

188. The bad odor of usury in the Middle Ages was due to two causes, a religious and an economic one. The religious cause was the biblical and later the Church prohibition of lending at interest, which thus was forbidden to Christians and developed as a Jewish enterprise. The Jews were allowed to receive interest from non-Jews, though not from their fellows, according to Deuteronomy 23:19 and 20. So the Church turned that unsavory business over to them, and they, without other means of support, needing money badly to pay their exorbitant taxes and finding money the most portable type of possession in times of turmoil or exile, adopted usury in considerable numbers. Not all Jews were pawnbrokers or moneylenders by any means, but most of the people in that field were Jews. . . . Moneylending grew into banking; Christians entered the field in competition with the Jews. With all that, the odium of usury continued to rest on the Jews as a remnant of their medieval compulsion and their arrival in the field earlier than their Christian competitors. . . .

If moneylending gave the Jews the reputation of being grasping and overshrewd, the violation of guild rules brought them the accusation of being dishonest and unfair in business. The regulations of the guilds had been very strict, imposing many limitations on trading. . . . They were accused of attracting customers away from others, whether by advertising or soliciting directly; of under-selling their competitors rather than upholding the "fair prices" set by the guilds. . . . Certainly, the offenses are characteristic of all modern business, where every man tries to out-advertise and undersell his competitors.

LEE J. LEVINGER

Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 172, 173

189. The economic factors of anti-Semitism . . . have their roots in historical circumstances over which the Jew had little or no control. From the 7th to the 9th Century the Jews, in addition to being agriculturists and craftsmen, were the traders and merchants of Europe. . . . They were, in fact, the great pioneers in developing the commercial possibilities of Europe. . . . These early Christian merchants who appeared in Venice in the tenth century rapidly outnumbered the Jews and, as Christians, . . . and citizens they soon gained the inside track against their now hated Jewish competitors. . . . Using their commercial resources and joining with the prelates in their agitations against the Jews, they presently led the Jews, limited their property-owning and industrial activities by various restrictions. Being unable to compete with their Jewish rivals, who were both more experienced and better connected with coreligionists in distant commercial cities, the Christian businessmen urged the actual exclusion of Jews from trading. In this they were soon successful. The Jew . . . was forced to accept the only callings which the circumstances permitted. He became a petty tradesman, a peddler, a middleman, and, worst of all, a pawnbroker and usurer—one who lent out money at interest—an occupation still forbidden Christians but permitted to Jews. . . . Thanks to this unhappy privilege, the Jews made a real contribution to civilized life and effectively assisted the transition of European society from an economy of barter to one of finance and fulfilled a necessary and important function in the economic life of the time. . . . "Jew" became synonymous with usury. . . . Those who owed him money at high rates of interest were only too easily tempted by the incitements of fanatics and demagogues. Sporadic massacres and expulsions began to occur throughout Northern and Western Europe.

In the 13th century the Christian competitor . . . who had practiced "usury" in secret, now . . . came to practice it openly. . . . The Jewish bankers and petty usurers . . . now found themselves vastly outnumbered by their second group of Christian imitators. . . . They were pushed aside by terror and bloodshed and plundered of their wealth by the force of superior political, social, and religious power on the part of their competitors. . . . The massacres of Jews, on their expulsion from various countries or cities, from England in 1290, from France in 1306, from a number of cities in Germany and Austria in the 14th and 15th Centuries, from Spain in 1492—were due as a rule to economic causes.

J. O. HERTZLER
Jews in a Gentile World, p. 86, 87, 88

190. Originally, for thousands of years, like most other early tribes, the Jews were an agricultural and sheep-herding people. After they were driven out of Palestine, however, they were forced to take up trade and tended to settle in closely knit blocs in large cities. Forbidden to own land, they became merchants, money-lenders, and purveyors of luxuries, because such wealth was easy to transport or conceal in times of persecution. These forces, combined with the ban of the Catholic Church on usury, tended to make the Jews the bankers of the Middle Ages, and to draw upon them the natural hostility of debtors toward creditors everywhere.

KENNETH M. GOULD

They Got the Blame, p. 32

2. ECONOMIC JEALOUSY

191. The fact that the Gentile has been forced to face the higher competitive skill of the Jew in business has been a fertile source of anti-Semitic feeling.

FATHER JOSEPH N. MOODY

Why Are the Jews Persecuted?, p. 43

192. During the Middle Ages the economic charges began to grow beside the religious ones, until they finally eclipsed them altogether in modern times. . . . The early Hebrews were shepherds, nomads of the desert. When they conquered Palestine, they learned agriculture from the previous inhabitants and added farming to the pastoral form of life. They were not then traders; they showed no "racial aptitude" for such activities and had no compulsion to undertake them. Their gradual spread through the Mediterranean world and the later compulsory scattering brought many of them into commerce, though the majority seem to have continued as handicraftsmen. The growth of the feudal system forced them gradually off the land and into the slowly developing cities; the growth of the guilds drove them out of various lines of handicraft and commerce and into a more restricted field of activity. By the end of the Middle Ages, money-lending and old-clothes dealing were the chief Jewish fields of activity, which Christians left exclusively to them. . . .

Finally, a new development came about in late Medieval and early modern times—the entrance of Christians into these hitherto "Jewish" lines of business. From being despised as a lower order in economic life, the Jews were now hated and feared as competitors. With the relaxation of guild rules and the entrance of the Jews into fields formerly restricted to them, the competition tightened and

became a greater menace on both sides. In the 19th Century and at present, business competition is the chief economic factor in hatred of the Jews. . . . The Jews, historically, became middle-class workers and traders. . . . In every case the middle class becomes the competitor and hence the enemy of the Jews. . . .

LEE J. LEVINGER
Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 168, 169

193. It is a short step at most from economic resentment to group hatred. . . . Much antagonism against minority groups—whether racial, religious, or national—has an economic root; it invariably appears coincidentally with the collision of material considerations. The ancient survival and security urge makes for the exclusion of inimical influences and hostile elements. This often occurs without conscious motive.

The aversion to a race or a nationality is not always marked by antagonism. This comes with the conflict of economic interest—when income or standard of living or some other aspect of economic security or position is threatened. Feeling that this real reason may not be ethically sufficient, some other reason more exalted—racial purity, the preservation of a religion, the prevention of cultural degradation—is offered as a justifying cause.

J. O. HERTZLER
Jews in a Gentile World, p. 90, 91

194. On the subject of the Jew in America, there is considerable misinformation. This is true not only of his participation and place in our social and economic life, but even of the number of Jews in our population. Of more than 130 million Americans, not more than four million, or less than three persons in every hundred, are Jews. . . . They make their living as do other urban people in trade and small business enterprises, which accounts for approximately 50 per cent of all Jews who are working. . . . Unlike the general foreign-born population, the sons of Jewish immigrants who started in industry and small trades, have sought education for the professions. In consequence their ratios in certain professions, medicine and law, are higher than in the general population. . . . Note the comparative paucity of Jews in such industries as cotton, steel, automobiles and the public utilities. They are conspicuously absent from the faculties of our major colleges and universities.

No one likes competition. It is particularly resented when it springs from either a member of a minority group or from one only recently arrived in the community. . . . This is the basis of what has been called the Jewish Problem in America.

Guide for the Study of Social Problems, p. 119, 120

3. ECONOMIC DISTRESS

195. The depression, however, brought all the latent and slumbering prejudices to the fore, and created new ones as well. The collapse of the Stock Market in 1929, and bank failures wiped out the life-time savings of innumerable American families; the shut-down of factories resulted in mass unemployment on an unprecedented scale. And as government measures proved ineffective, panic gripped the American people. Fears and anxieties were rapidly intensified; and the need to project those fears and anxieties became acute. Unable to understand the complicated processes of economics, masses of people were searching for a scapegoat on whom to fix the responsibility for their plight. Wall Street and International Bankers had already begun to play that role; and the bridge was soon built in the popular mind between international finance and the Jews.

JACOB J. WEINSTEIN
The American Jew, p. 192

196. To what extent do working and living conditions in the U.S.A. promote friendship between the races? To what extent do they drive them apart and develop hatred? Surely it is no exaggeration to say that the hate-producing conditions outweigh the others 10 to 1. . . .

A depression throws fifteen million men and women out of work. Instantly the competition for too few pay envelopes becomes a struggle between the races. Any working Negro, unless he is a servant or unskilled laborer, has "taken a white man's job."

Even when there is no depression, when jobs are seeking men, not men seeking jobs, the feeling still is the same. American workers live at all times in the valley of fear, in the shadow of hunger. The wealth of American industry, as the worker feels it, varies from the hot blast of the furnace mouth to the cold blast of unemployment, but the chill of insecurity is always in the air. So the white worker builds windbreaks for himself, and one of them is racial. A racial fence is built around today, to protect tomorrow.

IRVING BRANT
P.M., August 27, 1944

197. Moreover, as in all wars and persecution, there is loot. To take a modest example, Italy will give more employment and property to its Gentile population through the robbery of its 60,000 Jews than through the conquest of Ethiopia, and at a fraction of the latter's cost. Once it be accepted that Jews or any other minority are neither citizens nor to be reckoned among the population—that they

simply do not count—their degradation, expropriation, expulsion, or extermination becomes an immediate gain, whatever the ultimate loss. If humanity, decency, and all long range views or civilized values be cast aside, the war upon Jewry pays—as does any crime.

MARVIN LOWENTHAL

Survey Graphic, February, 1939

4. TENDENCY TO COMMERCIAL PURSUITS

198. The assertion of the anti-Semites that the Jews are unfit for agriculture, handicraft and manual labor, is based on gross error. They were not accepted in the guilds . . . nor were they allowed to possess landed property. Where should the Jews have gotten love and understanding for agriculture when in consequence of religious prejudices they have been debarred from it for centuries? Wherever the Jews have had an opportunity of carrying on agriculture they have done so. . . .

COUNT HEINRICH COUDENHOVE-KALERGI

Anti-Semitism Throughout the Ages, p. 188

199. It was only last century that many of these economic and social restrictions were removed and we can hardly expect the Jew to rid himself, in such a short period, of characteristics which took centuries to develop. That he is making the effort can be seen in Palestine today, where the Jewish immigrants are attempting to build up an integral national life founded on land. They . . . have shown a remarkable aptitude for agriculture.

FATHER JOSEPH N. MOODY

Why Are the Jews Persecuted?, p. 42

200. On the whole, Jews resemble Gentiles in drifting into the best trade or profession that is open to them. In many cases they have a disproportionate number in some particular line. This is particularly true of the liberal professions, journalism, medicine, law. . . . During the 19th century, when the aristocracy despised these professions, and the middle class had hardly grown to the point of entering them in large numbers, the Jews found them the highest economic and social positions available. They could not enter the Army, the Church or Government service; they were not wealthy landowners or old-time gentry. But they had a strong tradition of learning especially in the fields of medicine and law, and they did not find it too difficult to become physicians or lawyers. . . . But this search for freedom and for a livelihood brought a reaction. The

Gentiles in time also crowded into the "white collar" class. The competition became even keener and even aristocrats saw their sons struggling with children of the middle class for success in these fields. Thus the outcry against the Jews for monopolizing the medical profession in Nazi Germany was simply a complaint of their rivals, arriving on the scene a little later and finding many Jewish practitioners already at work, some of them recognized as leaders of the profession.

LEE J. LEVINGER

Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 175, 176

B. POLITICAL

201. It is often unsafe to persecute minorities indiscriminately. If Germans, or Hungarians, or Poles, or Russians, or Yugoslavs are oppressed, neighboring governments will protest and threaten. They might retaliate by maltreating minorities within their own borders who are nationally or culturally related to the offending people. For that reason demagogues turn their attention first to the Jews, whom it is generally quite safe to persecute. No government will protect them; no state will threaten; and few will protest.

OSCAR I. JANOWSKY

Survey Graphic, February, 1939, p. 163

202. Formerly, when kings and princes expelled their Jews they did so only with a view to internal politics: to seize their fortunes or to divert the troublesome dissatisfaction of the people. Modern dictators use the Jews as an instrument in foreign policy. When they have plundered them thoroughly, they drive them across the borders in raids as lawless, as wild, as unpredictable as possible, and saddle other countries in the throes of depression with the burden of these destitute refugees. But there, in the foreign countries, the refugees are awaited by fascist agitators who set the population on the defensive and rouse it to anger against them, using Jew-baiting to stir up the masses against their own democratic government. Everywhere round the nucleus of Jew-baiting gather fascist groups sympathetic toward the dictator nations.

ERICH KAHLER

Contemporary Jewish Record, January-February, 1940, p. 45

203. My Jews are a valuable hostage to me by the democracies. Anti-Semitic propaganda in all countries is an almost indispensable medium for the extension of our political campaign. You will see

how little time we shall need in order to upset the ideas and the criteria of the whole world, simply and purely by attacking Judaism. . . .

ADOLF HITLER

Quoted in *Congress Weekly*, February 18, 1944

204. Hitler has firmly believed that with the sole aid of anti-Semitism he could really destroy the moral and legal order in America. He made it clear that anti-Semitism in the United States is the weapon to extend National Socialism there, as it had been the weapon in Germany. With the help of all these stirred up animosities, he could confuse the nation and seed disruption and injure and disintegrate the whole political and social machinery of America.

HERMANN RAUSCHNING

Quoted in *Congress Weekly*, February 18, 1944

205. Primarily the reason why the Jews have been persecuted above all other people is because they are an omnipresent, dispersed religious minority always ready at hand for anyone seeking a scapegoat, an attention-diverting campaign, a nationalistic cause or anything else you want. But when the Jews are not handy, the scapegoats may be Armenians, Huguenots, Hungarians, or any other minority large enough to be dramatic but small enough to present no dangerous opposition.

STRUTHERS BURT

The Forum, June, 1939

206. It happened that the Jews, as the worst-treated element in the Russian Empire, had naturally inclined toward the parties of opposition, who were pledged to remove their disabilities.

LOUIS GOLDING

The Jewish Problem, p. 101

207. A new conception of politics among a great part of the younger generation of the German Universities explains a great deal of the attitude of the leaders of the anti-Semitic movements. In previous periods, the intellectuals of all nations, and especially the students, had always been against anti-Semitism . . . the intellectuals had always been liberal, youth always progressive, and both therefore opposed to anti-Semitism. Today, however, the situation is reversed. A considerable part of the intelligentsia is inclined toward anti-Semitism, and, what is more important, the major part of the student body approves it. . . . The change in the attitude of these classes is based on a profound change in our cultural and political ideology. The great political and social ideals of the 19th century—

individualism, liberalism, democracy, toleration, in brief, liberty—are being consciously rejected. Contemporary youth has a new conception of the nature of the state, which is more strict and disciplined. It tends in the direction of the collectivist ideal . . . the entire atmosphere of that liberal century is being ridiculed. Respect for minorities as well as toleration of dissenters is depicted as developing a chaotic situation which must be vanquished by the lofty new conception of the nature of the state. . . . The German intelligentsia . . . feels that the Jew is the natural born champion of those ideals. Jews as a minority are ready to fight and die for them. Their (the German) fight against democracy is identical with their fight against the Jews as champions of democracy.

JAMES WATERMAN WISE
Swastika: The Nazi Terror, p. 28 to 32

208. It has been repeatedly charged that the Jews are suspected because . . . they are disposed to this radicalism "by nature"; . . . that radicalism is a universal Jewish phenomenon. No one will deny that there are individual radical Jews, as there are radical non-Jews. . . . But it is a certain set of conditions which produces it among Jews as among non-Jews and not a "racial" trait. The consciousness of belonging to a slighted class, race, or nationality may easily predispose many a person to adopt a radical attitude of opposition to the society or state. . . . In lands where Jews are the special subjects of political discrimination . . . it is quite understandable that many of them should be connected with leftist political movements and oppose an entrenched class government. . . . Persecution itself would also tend to throw them into the radical camp. But the matter of fact is that even under such circumstances only a negligible portion of the Jews were active in such movements. They, too, have always had their ambitious bourgeoisie, and most of the lower-class Jews have aspired to rise into the higher social, economical, and political levels even under the most adverse circumstances. . . . In view of the fact that the conditions which produce radicalism are conditions to which large numbers of Jews have been and are subjugated, the remarkable thing is not that there are so many radicals among the Jews, but so few. . . . The "radical," like the "obnoxious" Jew, is largely a case of a whole people being judged by their more notorious or conspicuous few, or a people labelled with a historical trait, when it was only a case of a particular or temporary incident or situation.

J. O. HERTZLER
Jews in a Gentile World, p. 93, 94

C. PSYCHOLOGICAL

1. CONCEALED CHRISTIAN HATRED OF CHRIST

209. The deeper motives of anti-Semitism have their roots in times long past; they come from the unconscious. . . . I venture to assert that the jealousy which the Jews evoked in other peoples by maintaining that they were the first-born, favorite child of God the Father has not yet been overcome by those others, just as if the latter had given credence to the assumption. Furthermore, among the customs through which the Jews marked off their aloof position, that of circumcision made a disagreeable, uncanny impression on others. The explanation probably is that it reminds them of the dreaded castration idea and of things in their primeval past, which they would fain forget. Then there is lastly the most recent motive of the series. We must not forget that all the peoples who now excel in the practice of anti-Semitism became Christians only in relatively recent times, sometimes forced to it by bloody compulsion. One might say they all are "badly Christened"; under the thin veneer of Christianity they have remained what their ancestors were, barbarically polytheistic. They have not yet overcome their grudge against the new religion which was forced upon them, and they have projected it on to the source from which Christianity came to them. The fact that the Gospel tells a story which is enacted among Jews, and in truth treats only of Jews, has facilitated such a projection. The hatred for Judaism is at bottom hatred for Christianity, and it is not surprising that in the German National Socialist revolution this close connection of the two monotheistic religions finds such clear expression in the hostile treatment of both.

SIGMUND FREUD

Moses and Monotheism, p. 144, 145

210. Anti-Semitism is the expression of the concealed hatred of Christ and Christianity. . . . Whatever roles prejudice, bigotry, and intolerance play in the make-up of the anti-Semite, the recourse to anti-Semitism is in one sense not a confusion at all, but the right mental strategy of those who hate—and fear—Christ and dare not be open about it even to themselves. The real confusion is in the minds of . . . churchmen who refer anti-Semitism to the common run of bigotries and intolerances. . . .

For anti-Semitism is not anti-Christian in the sense that it is un-Christian. It is the expression of the movement to put an end to the Christian episode in human history. While all other forms of

hatred are lapses from Christian practice, anti-Semitism is the conspiratorial, implacable campaign against Christ the Jew. . . .

It is precisely because Christ was a Jew that Christians tolerate the "wholesale crimes of speech and violence" against the Jews. It is precisely because Christ-hatred is afraid to name itself, and afraid to make the direct attack, that it must find vent in the folk pathology which is anti-Semitism. . . . The reluctance to see anti-Semitism under the aspect of the revolt against Christ is part of the strategy of that revolt. It is the universal foundation for the under-valuation of the anti-Semitic problem. . . .

Anti-Semitism is the core and center of Nazism-Fascism as a revolutionary ideal. . . . Anti-Semitism is not, as liberals tell us, a device, along with anti-Catholicism, anti-Negroism, and anti-alienism, for the propagation of Nazism-Fascism—though it can be made to function as such. Nazi-Fascism can, at various points, drop its anti-Catholic, anti-Negro or anti-alien feature. It can never drop its anti-Semitism. . . .

Its peculiar forms, its diabolism of the Jew, its world-wide standardization, its divorce from practicality, betray its character: It is the expression of the concealed horror of Christ the Jew, the world representative of a system of thought which stands up as the universal ideological enemy of the Nazi-Fascist revolution. . . .

It is of Christ that the Nazi-Fascists are afraid; it is in his omnipotence that they believe; it is he that they are determined madly to obliterate. But the names of Christ and Christianity are too overwhelming, and the habit of submission to them is too deeply ingrained after centuries and centuries of teaching. Therefore, they must . . . make their assault on those who were responsible for the birth and spread of Christianity. They must spit on the Jews as "The Christ-killers" because they long to spit on the Jews as the Christ-givers.

MAURICE SAMUEL

The Great Hatred, p. 36, 39, 41, 43, 53, 54, 127, 128

211. Maurice Samuel . . . refuses to label anti-Semitism as ordinary race prejudice or group intolerance. He points out that it has psychological characteristics which are not to be found, not anywhere in the world, among the race prejudices and group intolerances which afflict mankind. In his opinion, anti-Semitism is a genuine psychosis. Its root is hatred of Christ the Jew. And its hallucinations arise from the fact that anti-Semites are ignorant of the source of their hatred. They are ignorant because they dare not face the reality, namely, that they are in rebellion against the moral

disciplines which Christianity has imposed on the primitive instincts of man.

It is thus, too, that Samuel explains the susceptibility of millions of Christians to the anti-Semitic virus. Deep in the heart of ordinary men and women there lurks the will to throw off the restraints of Christian morality. It is the unsuspected and therefore unacknowledged impulse. Out of it rises a resentment against the greatest representative of morality, the Founder of Christianity. But since that resentment dare not recognize itself, it issues as a potential resentment of the people with which the name of Christ is forever associated.

PIERRE VAN PAASSEN

The Protestant, December-January, 1940-41

212. . . . Not only are children taught that Christ was murdered by Jews but they also learn that Christ was a Jew. They are taught to love Christ, who was a Jew, and to hate the other Jews who murdered him. But the Christian faith is the authority behind many of the frustrations of childhood and . . . frustration itself gives rise to aggression against the frustrating object. A certain amount of our unconscious resentment of childhood frustration which we can never openly express against Christ may become expressed against Jews through his identification with them.

J. F. BROWN

Jews in a Gentile World, p. 135

213. This by no means denies the fact that very clever, learned, and even gifted men have been and are anti-Semites. "Thy just feel an antipathy for the Jews." It would, however, be interesting to know the source of this antipathy. With a good many this source is frequently nothing else than exceedingly unpleasant personal adventures . . . while in the case of many others it is hatred of the so-called revealed religion, in Europe particularly of Christianity, and as one is rather loath to hit out against Christianity, one inveighs and rails against Judaism in general.

COUNT HEINRICH COUDENHOVE-KALERGI

Anti-Semitism Throughout the Ages, p. 193

214. Anti-Semitism is a recurring form of reaction against the struggle of Western man for religious, political, and economic emancipation. The Jew has been hated because the sources of that struggle are in large part Jewish; because inspiration from Jewish sources has been one of the chief things that have kept it going; and because, even when the Jews themselves have tried to quit the fight,

they continued to stand as its ubiquitous, distinguishable, and therefore, disturbing symbol.

. . . They hate the Jew because in his history and his loyalties, the Jew stands for and is the personification of everything that they stand against; and because, in his manner of life and, more recently, his leadership, the Jew has contributed far more than his proportionate share to those emancipating enterprises which promise to make the world safe for freedom.

Guttersnipes, who serve an anti-Semitic purpose without knowing what it is all about, may call the Jews "Christ-killers." But authentic anti-Semites—with their established order to look out for—hated the Jews for no such reason. They hate the Jews not because they killed Christ, but because they produced Him. They know what short shrift can be made of their scheme of things if the succession of Jewish principles and prophets in which Jesus stands takes hold and gets going.

STANLEY HIGH

Harpers Magazine, June, 1942

2. RESENTMENT AGAINST ETHICAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE JEW

215. It is not the physical Jew that the anti-Semites hate and fear, but his contribution to the world in the realm of ethics, morals and religion and the permanent threat of bringing forth God-yearning and God-aspiring men. . . . The Nazis and anti-Semites want to bring an end to the Christian episode in history and would shape society in their own brutal image, but as long as the Jew lives their triumph cannot be complete or secure.

SAUL E. WHITE

Congress Weekly, February 26, 1943

216. The Jew, who has been called upon to sustain the difficult role of the non-conformant of history, can never be viewed with friendly eyes by the protagonists of despotism. In the case of the Nazi leaders this hostility has been deepened by the conviction that the Jew is not only the symbol but the originator and repository of the conception of life with which they are at war. The path of advance of the Nazi ideology, with its conception of a hierarchy of men and races, has been barred by the Christian ethic, with its belief in the independent and ultimate value of every human soul, and by the liberal faith, with its doctrine of human equality and inalienable rights. These, the Nazi theorist says . . . are hostile ideologies imposed by an inferior race on the whole world.

New Republic, August 30, 1943

217. . . . Old historic accounts, found in such works as that of Josephus and the Books of the Maccabees, testify that we were hated even before we were scattered and even before we became weak and helpless. The only cause of Jew-hatred at that time was the great contribution we had made to the idealism of the world when we embraced the cause of monotheism and true morality. The more the world began to realize the great value of our contribution, the more it hated to face those to whom they were indebted for it; for no creditor likes to meet a creditor whom he cannot repay. We thus became what may best be called a living creditor and hated as such. In the course of time, the very hatred towards us became a cause of more hatred, for the mistreatments accorded to us left marks on our bodies and souls, and we became a living protest. Just as people do not like to behold those who lend them something which they cannot return or pay for, so do they hate to meet those who by their very appearance remind them of their atrocities.

RABBI MORRIS SCHATZ
Jewish Forum, June, 1939

3. THE NAME "JEW"

218. But perhaps the deepest reason of anti-Semitism is simply that the word Jew exists. Nothing gratifies the mob more than to get a simple name to account for a complex phenomenon, and the word "Jew" is always at hand to explain the never-absent maladies of the body politic; a word, moreover, admirably surcharged with historic hatred, bigotry, and repugnance.

ISRAEL ZANGWILL

Quoted in the *Jewish Spectator*, May, 1942

219. . . . Prejudice is at the bottom of all accusations against the Jews; hence prejudice is the cause of anti-Semitism.

What is the cause of prejudice?

We have observed that the emotion of prejudice against a man arises within the gentile the moment the latter gets the consciousness that the former is a Jew, otherwise that emotion is absent. It is evident then, that it is the name Jew which causes that emotion.

This discovery is of great moment in our inquiry, for it expressly establishes the fact that while there is nothing wrong about the *Man—Jew*, there is something amiss with the *Name—Jew*. . . .

. . . It is the name Jew which is that cause of the prejudice. Our next step should then be to consider what there may be in that name Jew which produces that emotion. . . .

There are . . . about twelve million . . . Jews. . . . We know that for the past twenty centuries since they lost their own territory, they represent an international ethical and spiritual society.

We are also aware of the fact that no matter whether we speak of the biggest nation, the smallest people, or any association of men for some definite purpose, each of these represents a distinct society or association. . . .

Our sense perception tells us that we do not see a Jewish society or a Jewish association, but what we see is a *multitude of Jews*. . . .

Now, there is a great difference between a society, an association, or a people . . . and a multitude, even if the multitude goes by one certain name. A multitude is not a society.

A distinct society or association has been defined as a body of persons associated for a common good. It is a definite body and is distinguished by the elements of unity in name, object and its reference to assemblage and representation.

A multitude on the other hand, is a large number or body of persons *indefinite* without reference to assemblage or representation. Even if it goes by one certain name and has a common object, it cannot be regarded as a distinct, definite society, because it has not the element of unity as a body.

We have here made an important discovery: While twelve million human beings go under the name "Jews," they are nevertheless not a definite society, but a multitude. While they have one common ethical object, hence a spiritual unity, they are nevertheless a multitude lacking the element of assemblage or representation. The twelve million Jews, then, do not constitute a collective unity. As they do not have that element of a physical unity which a society, whether small or large must have, we find them therefore incapable of deliberating, resolving, and acting in that personal capacity which every definite society has. Being only a multitude, a body without reference to assemblage and representation, they are an abnormal association without a will, hence they may be termed a mob as well. . . .

Of the American people . . . the mind can have a true thought because it is a normal society with the element of assemblage and representation. *Assembly* and *representation* are the only elements (not territory) which take a body of men out of the category of a multitude and give it the form of unity, which make it conformable to the normal state of a corporation. . . .

We discover that the mind can form no true conception of what the Jews are. . . . The reason for this is that in order to enable the

mind to think rightly of a collective body, the body must be a normal one. The collective object must have the *self* which is not any of the parts of which it is composed, it must be something which embraces and acts upon all the parts, thus making up the self. The Jews have it not. All the mind knows is that there are Jews, but it does not see the self, the Jewish physical unity, the Jewish people, which should be expressed by assemblage and representation, which should comprehend and act upon all the Jews. Having before it only Jews, the parts of the self, the mind has no true thought, and is therefore confused as to what the Jews are.

Having before it only a multitude of Jews, the mind cannot psychologically or logically differentiate the parts from the whole, and the whole from the parts, and for this reason sees in every Jew and all the Jews something which it does not understand. The mind sees Jews but does not see the *self* of the Jews, the Jewish people. In this we find the reason why when the other people talk about Jews they refer to them as Jews, but never as the Jewish people.

Because the mind can form no true thought of the Jews, it is confused, without, however, realizing this fact, and therefore prejudice naturally arises. It is now clear why . . . the prejudiced mind, seeing only a multitude, piled up every act and phenomenon of individual Jews on the whole multitude.

The prejudice is due to the abnormality of the collective unity of the Jewish people, of which the mind cannot form a definite conception.

ABRAM S. SCHOMER

The Primary Cause of Anti-Semitism—an Answer to the Jewish Question, p. 58, 59, 76, 77, 94, 95, 96, 97, 111, 112, 113, 114

4. SUPERIORITY FEELING

220. The frequent jealousy of individuals toward successful competitors is also an element in anti-Semitism. Many peoples, such as the Poles, feel that their position in the arts, science, and trade is weak compared to that of the Jews. The inferiority complex brings immediate reaction in the form of oppression of the Jews, an effort to compensate in any way they can for the difficulties they cannot evade. . . . Some Freudian thinkers might even see a religious side; the jealousy of the Christian world—for the Jewish teachers and founders of the Christian faith. None of us like to be taught, to have someone else recognized as our superior. Hence the constant resentment of Christianity toward the Jew, its teacher. That might well have been forgiven if the Jew had passed on and, Elijah-

like, left his mantle to the Church; it was doubly resented when the Jew persisted and refused to accept the Christian faith. This might well be called a form of the Oedipus complex, the hatred of the son for the father; Judaism is the parent of Christianity; the child resents teaching, superiority, domination.

LEE J. LEVINGER

Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 246, 247

221. Race prejudice turns on this point of inferiority and superiority. The man with race prejudice says of a man of another race, "No matter who he is, I don't have to compare myself with him. I'm superior anyway. I was born that way."

RUTH BENEDICT and GENE WELTFISH

The Races of Mankind, p. 15

222. Anti-Semitism flatters the non-Jews by giving them the consciousness of belonging to an aristocratic race, a privileged class. . . . The non-Jews thus get an opportunity of looking down on a group of men, even when they themselves are standing on the lowest step of the social ladder . . . [and so get] the illusion of being on top. . . . The very existence of a despised caste confers on all those who do not belong to it the right to feel themselves an aristocracy with regard to it. Anti-Semitism thus becomes the aristocratic pride of the bourgeoisie, and anti-Semitism among the middle classes is therefore much stronger than it is among the aristocracy which can satisfy its pride of class in another way.

COUNT HEINRICH COUDENHOVE-KALERGI

Anti-Semitism Throughout the Ages, p. 240

223. To despise the Jews as part-brutes, beneath the level of humanity, recompenses the majority for the indignities inflicted by the government upon their own manhood.

MARVIN LOWENTHAL

Survey Graphic, February, 1939

224. Peoples like individuals, feel the need of proving their superiority, and if their longing for recognition be thwarted by others who consistently deny their claim, their reaction is over-compensation—is a form of compensation in the form of hatred and the development of excessive self-consciousness. . . . During this period hatred of the Jews adopted a variety of forms, but underneath them all lay the fundamental feeling of a need to enjoy superiority which has met no respect.

JOSEF KASTEIN

History and Destiny of the Jews, p. 432, 433

225. This mental behavior of a majority of the German people is a most arresting and tragic case of mass-psychosis—the mental infection of a whole nation. . . . The very thought that Germany could have lost the war is unsupportable, and in this emergency they seek some means by which to explain a fact that has obviously happened against the laws of nature. Demoniacal forces must have been at work to bring it about and in the search for these forces they seize on the Jews as the most natural objective. . . . The passionate propaganda campaign, launched by Jewish organizations in Germany to combat anti-Semitism with statistics and documents, impresses us as rather naive. In the age of Freud it ought to be known that mental ailments cannot be cured with logic, since logical argumentation will make the patient only more furious because he will feel the weakness of his position and is bound to react to it with more vigorous resistance and more acute hatred. This psychopathic situation is also the reason for the many contradictions in the anti-Semitic accusations, some of which, if seen from a logical point of view, seem to be almost humorous in the way they annul one another. Jews have caused the war and Jews have stopped it; Jews are the masters of Capitalism and Jews are the chieftains of Bolshevism. . . . Jews dominate international politics and at the same time they are concerned with the politics of Jewish solidarity only. It is not a question of logic or proofs, but rather of a diseased mind seeking a symbol for its hatred, an outlet for all its rejections and aversions.

JAMES WATERMAN WISE

Swastika: The Nazi Terror, p. 28-30

226. Anti-Semitism . . . is chiefly a phenomenon of the middle classes—a category bounded by psychology, not income or position.

Among the middle classes the need for a scapegoat is stimulated not only by fear of their immediate competitors, but by hostility to those who have already bested them, the rich and powerful. But the middle class cannot afford to hate the socially powerful with whom they wish to be identified without putting themselves outside the pale. And so their envy is apt to appear as admiration while their hate seeks outlets less personally disastrous. Here again is where the Jews come in. They are often sufficiently rich and conspicuous to be "deserving" of hate and envy; they become the caricature of the "capitalist." But they are not powerful enough, socially or economically, to be admired and feared. One purpose of anti-Semitic propaganda is to make them so distinguishable that they can be hated without running the risk of destructive self-hate.

The lower classes, scapegoats, when the pinch of economic com-

petition becomes painful, are the Negroes and recent immigrants. Where they embrace anti-Semitism, it is on different grounds, as a flying-butchers for a very unsteady prestige. In the United States particularly, many of the poor attach themselves psychologically to the prestigious groups of the middle class, in order to elevate themselves in fantasy, and are apt therefore to share the typical middle-class antipathies, including anti-Semitism. Harlem domestics, for example, who work for Jewish families, are considered inferior by Negroes who work in non-Jewish houses.

DAVID RIESMAN

Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring, 1942

5. FRUSTRATION

227. Our many minorities, who together constitute a majority of our total population, have frequently suffered, and still suffer, long, deep, and bitter hardships solely because of their race, religion, color, or national origin. They served and serve as convenient scapegoats, and whipping-posts for troubles such as war, depression, and unemployment, which they had no conscious part in causing.

The unplanned, disjointed aftermath of our past American wars each kindled the smoldering embers of prejudice, and in the wake of the economic distress and depression which engulfed us, many fell prey to the poisons of hate and projected upon minority scapegoats their frustration and fury. Since few of us are sufficiently honest or courageous to accept responsibility for our mistakes and sins, we seek others to blame—usually groups of whom we know very little and who for one reason or another are visible and identifiable, and we heap unfair disabilities upon them.

MALCOLM S. MACLEAN

Congress Weekly, May 29, 1942

228. It is my firm conviction that the cause of anti-Semitism is not conscious or intellectual or social or racial, but almost entirely emotional and unconscious in nature. I am further of the opinion that anti-Semitism is both an individual and social neurosis, and that we must seek in psycho-pathology an explanation of its genesis and continuance. . . . It is a good psychological mechanism of self-defense to project onto others the faults we ourselves possess. We heap on the devil the abuse which properly belongs to ourselves and punish him for the sins which we alone have committed. If there were no Jew, the Christian world would do well to create one.

ISRAEL S. WECHSLER

Quoted by Lee J. Levinger in

Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 246

229. Anti-Semitism has become a convenient outlet for the expression of repressed and frustrated impulses. . . . In times of crises, people believe not those things that are true or logical, but the things they want to believe, the things that respond to their psychological and emotional needs. And, in such circumstances, truth and logic became largely ineffective weapons in combatting anti-Semitism.

JACOB J. WEINSTEIN

The American Jew—A Composite Portrait, p. 199-200

230. As far as anti-Semitism specifically is concerned, psychiatrists make a precise formulation of its psychological function. They say it is due to the frustration which accompanies aggression and to the diversion of hostility from the agent of frustration to a convenient substitute. In popular language, this is known as the scapegoat complex.

Thus viewed psychologically, Dr. Brown declares, "Anti-Semitism represents a displacement of aggression with a projection of guilt and a rationalization of motives."

The Jew . . . appears the more attractive as a target because there is a stronger historical tradition of his alleged guilt and an established habit system of antipathy.

LOUIS MINSKY

Contemporary Jewish Record, June, 1942

231. Since neither the physical nor the social world has been made to order for any one person, frustration must be endured and the fact of aggression recognized. This obliges us to accept some form of expression of hate as an inevitable component of personality. Each of us must hate something, be it no more than the Devil. The only area of choice lies in the object against which the hate or aggression should be directed. In a rational society man's aggressive impulses will be worked off toward useful ends only. He will dig out stumps and pry out heavy rocks and become angry with those guilty of oppression. In our society we have, unfortunately, not yet found the means of confining aggression in this more reasonable way and so there still remains groundless "racial" antagonism as a safety valve.

ELLIS FREEMAN

Jews in a Gentile World, p. 157

232. However, we are not the only minority in the world. There are other ethnic groups which are discriminated against and persecuted. We may well ask: How do these groups react when they have no chance—or a very slim chance—to strike against their mortal enemies? In a number of cases the answer is, by transferring

their hatred to another minority. This might seem like another example of the old, familiar scapegoat phenomenon. Fundamentally, it is the same, yet there is a slight difference. A majority group, its leaders or would be representatives, deliberately uses the scapegoat in order to seize power or to divert the attention of the masses from its real ills. A minority group, however, turns against another minority because it cannot fight against the real enemy. This new adversary, therefore, is a foe by choice rather than by necessity. Of course, the chosen enemy need not be altogether irrational. He may be disliked for some valid or invalid reason. The attacking minority group may also hope in this manner to associate itself with the majority. Be it as it may, on the whole it acts emotionally in a vain effort to give vent to its resentment and to compensate for its impotence.

Let us give some examples: The Irish have an old grudge against the English. When the Irish came to this country they were not well received. Gradually, because they were followed by new waves of even less welcome immigrants coming from Eastern and Southern Europe, they gained acceptance. Still, the old account is not settled and the old grudge still exists. It can no longer turn against the enemy of old. Thus, it turns against another minority and their religious aggressiveness and zeal helps them to find their victim in the Jew.

To the Negro, the Jew serves as a substitute for an enemy he cannot reach. He thinks he has some reason to select the Jew. He is jealous of the Jew who has the advantage of being white, and then there are the exaggerated stories about Jewish business methods cleverly invented by the professional scapegoat practitioners. The feeling of the Negro against the Jew is not based on any facts; it is nothing but the helpless groping for an object on which to discharge the accumulated hatred against the dominant white whom he cannot effectively hit.

It is remarkable that such transfers of hatred never occurred in the history of the Jews. We find outcries, clamorings for revenge, wholesale denunciations of the entire hostile world, but no record of Jews choosing another oppressed group as a substitute for the actual adversary—and there were periods when Jews could have chosen to do so. One of the reasons that the Jews did not seek out a scapegoat is to be found in their intellectual and moral training, which made it impossible for them to confuse the issues, to lose sight of the real culprit, to hit the innocent because the guilty was out of reach.

MAX GRUENWALD

Congress Weekly, December 10, 1943

6. MISCELLANEOUS

233. The fact that the Jews are a minority everywhere produces another significant factor in anti-Semitism, functioning within both the minority and the majority. Group antagonisms seem to be inevitable when two peoples in contact with each other may be distinguished by differentiating characteristics, inborn, cultural, or fabricated, and are actual or potential competitors. . . .

Minorities usually have a perpetual sense of grievance and are constantly looking for insults, economic discrimination, political favoritism toward the majority, cultural ostracism, and evidences of social segregation. . . . They are anxious to be convinced that their mundane failures and tribulations are the product of oppression. . . . Minorities are supposed to be different in one way or another, and often are. Voluntarily or involuntarily they are non-conformists, and nonconformity which implies unlikeness, even though innocuous, causes dislike. . . . Invariably those who are unlike, those with whom one does not have complete mental, emotional and spiritual fellowship, are regarded as inimical to the interests and mental comfort of those to whom they are dissimilar. If they are a unified group in a larger whole they are suspected as being disloyal and creating a subversive influence. This is aggravated when the minority sing the praises of their own group. Hence the majority impulse is to crush minorities, whether they be racial, religious, political or social.

. . . A foreign element . . . makes the members of the group feel ill at ease. This is the basic psychological substratum for majority's fears and antipathies. . . .

If the minority cannot become congruent with the majority due to some conspicuous physical traits, as in the case of the Negro, or some real or implied ethnic feature or cultural traits or inherited psychic attitudes, as in the case of the Jew, the opposition and antagonism continue. Anti-Semitism is thus to a certain extent the product of the mutual discomfort of the majority. The Jew is different in ways felt but not always specifically determined. The anti-Semite seeks to repel this painful divergence and to suppress it.

Sooner or later the members of a minority will seek to penetrate the sacred precincts of the majority; they will attempt to ape the ways of the majority, to gain for themselves some of its privileges and rights. . . . They may be resented as rivals now seeking an equal plane of competition.

J. O. HERTZLER

Jews in a Gentile World, p. 80-83

234. . . . The present writer would like to offer his own theory. Following in the footsteps of Freud, who has shown the value and significance of the past for the understanding of the operation of the mind, the writer would call attention to the following phases of evolution of the social structure of the human family, as may be judged from the anthropological, mythological, and historical evidence. One may distinguish the phase of chaotic relationship, the phase of marriage under the supremacy of the woman, or the epoch of the matriarchate; and the phase of the supremacy of the male, or the epoch of the patriarchate which extends into the present. It seems to the writer that each epoch has left a deep imprint upon the human psyche, and that the transition from one epoch to another has caused considerable conflict. On mythological evidence, the patriarchate was achieved after a great struggle, the painful memory of which is deeply repressed in the unconscious. The writer believes that the breaking through of this repressed material is responsible to a considerable degree for tension between individuals—such as tension between the sexes, as seen in certain maladjustments in social and marital life—and tension between other persons and groups, as demonstrated in certain anti-social acts which are rooted in rivalry and aimed at supremacy as a surrogate for happiness.

As an example, one may recall the myth regarding the Amazons. They were women warriors who camped on the hill of Ares, near the gates of Athens. Many attempts to conquer them failed until Theseus emerged victor. Following their defeat, the Amazons entered into happy marriage under the supremacy of the male. . . .

It is the writer's belief that the matriarchy-patriarchy conflict is in operation behind Judophobia. As we know from clinical experience, the mechanism of a certain process may be easier to establish by means of following up the process to its height of expression. This is so because at the latter stage there is no interference of intervening forces, or compensation. With regard to Judophobia, the latter has reached its maximum height of expression in the person of Hitler who is completely outspoken. There is no restraint, compensation or covering up. The writer reasons, therefore, as follows:

To begin with, German mythology has its own Amazon in Brunhilde, the heroine of the Nibelungen, whose name means "the warrior-woman in armor." She can be won only by the man who is able to conquer her by trial of strength. Siegfried, who attempts it, is tied hand and foot to his bed by Brunhilde. It is of significance that Hitler is reported to have a peculiar interest in the Nibelungen.

Considering his actions, one may judge that he is avenging Siegfried. This is demonstrated by the fact that he is reducing women not only to a submissive role of childbearing, but is reducing them further to the more primitive phase of chaotic relationship. . . .

This writer believes that the height of expression of victory over the matriarchy in thought is the idea of the "brain-born child" of man, the Homunculus, as portrayed by Goethe in *Faust*. Hitler again steps higher. He apparently believes himself to be the "brain-born child" of God. He is the "law." Only such secret conviction of one's destiny can explain his ruthlessness and wanton destruction of everything that may stand in his way. To make his "New Order" work he must get rid of the "old law." Here is where the Jews come in. They are the "old law," and they remind him continuously of his matriarchal dependence. Consequently he projects upon them his own cravings for world domination. Now, they are doubly his rivals. He must destroy them and he picks up the blood theory as his weapon. He establishes the theory of the purity of the Germanic "race" in blood. German people wherever they may have been born, or wherever they have lived remain German. Other "races" especially the Jews, are of impure blood. Considering his actions it is evident that he thinks that it is not a crime to kill someone to whom one is not related by blood. But this is a principle of matriarchy. His unconscious has played a trick on him. And this is not all. To be thorough, he must also destroy Christianity. The drive increases his conflict to limitless proportions. Since he cannot possibly succeed in such an undertaking, his anxiety is boundless, continuously seeking new and greater outlets. The acute exacerbations of his anxiety take place whenever he fails in a venture, because failure reminds him of his inability to free himself of the bonds of morality and ethics of our civilization.

A parallel historical example of the fight of man to emancipate himself of the painful memory of the matriarchate is the ferocity with which the Romans fought the Etruscans. The Romans would not rest until they wiped out everything which would remind them of the Etruscan, in order to remove anything which could make them recall their matriarchal dependence.

One may conclude that Judophobia is a pathological phenomenon rooted in the matriarchy-patriarchy conflict. Its manifestations signify unsuccessful attempts at repression of the painful memory. The acuteness of the exacerbation of the phobia depends on many factors—on many activities of life. Due to the persistence of the matriarchy-patriarchy conflict through the ages, it became interwoven

with the system of defense of the personality. This system maintains among other defense mechanisms, so to speak, a "lightning rod" for our difficulties. In view of the benefit the "rod" gives to its many users, it is difficult to influence them to give it up. Because of the universality of the conflict, diversion of tension by the "lightning rod," proceeds through the Jew in a collective manner.

DR. G. M. DAVIDSON

Psychiatric Quarterly, January, 1943, p. 130-133

235. Is not the gentile's now traditional abhorrence of the Jew to be explained to a large extent as in essence his abhorrence of himself in his treatment of the Jew? For is it not a familiar fault of human nature to wreak vengeance most terribly not upon the one who has misused us but upon the one who we have ourselves misused in a desperate endeavor to transfer to another the burden of our offending? However, this may be, the Jew is a living embodiment of all that is most grievous in Christian history. For a gentile to come into the presence of a Jew is to feel himself embarrassed, stricken with shame, convicted of sin. In the face of the heritage of horror which the centuries bestow upon the gentile from out of the years of oppressive relations with the Jew, I marvel that any gentile can ever find anything in any Jew to blame. . . . It is the master and not the slave, the hater and not the hated, the persecutor and not the persecuted, who before God must be "afraid."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Through Gentile Eyes, p. 8

236. Always when anti-Semitism breaks out, it means that the people feel ill at ease, hampered in their evil desires, that they are doing wrong, playing hookey from school, are up to bloody tricks and are eager to engage in warlike massacres instead of doing such things as are right, sensibly and necessary. Then the Jews have to suffer. But they will suffer and survive. And we may all be certain that their strong sense of this world, and of social justice, will play an important part in the upbuilding of a new humanity struggling slowly out of its crises.

THOMAS MANN

Contemporary Jewish Record, March-April, 1940

237. Insecurity creates fear; fear results in intolerance; and intolerance is the mother of inhumanity.

OSCAR I. JANOWSKY

Survey Graphic, February, 1939

238. Why did nations . . . begin talking about the "racial purity" of their blood? . . . Why did they make people suffer, not because they were criminals . . . but because they were Jews or Negroes or non-Nordic?

We who are living in these troubled times can tell them why. Today weak nations are afraid of the strong nations; the poor are afraid of the rich; the rich are afraid they will lose their riches. People are afraid of one another's political or economic power, they are afraid of revenge for past injuries, they are afraid of social rejection. Conflict grows fat on fear. And the slogan against "inferior races" lead us to pick on them as scapegoats. We pin on them the reason for all our fears.

RUTH BENEDICT and GENE WELTFISH
The Races of Mankind, p. 25

D. RACIAL

1. RACE THEORY

239. Race prejudice isn't an old universal "instinct." It is hardly a hundred years old. Before that, people persecuted Jews because of their religion—not their "blood"; they enslaved Negroes because they were pagans—not for being black.

RUTH BENEDICT and GENE WELTFISH
The Races of Mankind, p. 25

240. The race theory is . . . merely another name for "consciousness of kind," for exaltation of one's own group and contempt for other groups of people. The average man who accepts the race theory is not an anthropologist; he has never heard of a cranial index. But he is glad of an opportunity for pride; he is happy to have science confirm his ancient prejudices. So the race theory, scorned by every reputable anthropologist, has vast political influence. . . . The race theory is merely a creation of prejudice, a support of group self-esteem.

LEE J. LEVINGER
Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 231, 232

241. Nazi racism . . . its base pride is nothing but the compensation for a turbid state of mind made up of inferiority complexes, dreams of resentment and persecution manias. German racism did not take shape for the Nordic or German race, it is not

fooled by the impostures of its anthropologists and is ready to call the Japanese Yellow Aryans. German racism took shape against a mythical enemy because its prime datum is hate and because hate must have an enemy to detest and destroy. . . . Racist law is nothing but a secondary ideological process which aims at justifying a primitive criminal passion and freeing it of all restraint. There is only one firm and unshakable trait at the heart of German racism: Nazi anti-Semitism, extreme and frenzied form of the old German anti-Semitism. And Nazi anti-Semitism is at bottom a furious aversion to the revelation of Sinai and the law of the Decalogue. It is above all, as Maurice Samuel, the American Jewish writer has so well pointed out, a supernatural fear and hate . . . of Christianity and of the evangelical law. . . . It seeks to wipe the race of Christ from the face of the earth because it seeks to wipe Christ from human history, it takes vengeance on the Jews for the Messiah who issued from them, it humiliates and tortures the Jews, seeking to humiliate and torture their Messiah in their flesh; it is essentially a Christophobia.

JACQUES MARITAIN

Commonweal, June 4, 1943

242. The chief content of race theories is the assumption that the differences between peoples and even certain differences within a people are as deep-seated as they are enduring. One's own race is considered noble, the source of all culture, the pioneer of all progress. All other races, on the other hand, are inferior, less gifted, morally ignoble. . . . Very often it is even assumed that every mingling of races only leads to the combination in the product of all the bad qualities of both sides. Further, it is asserted that race feeling (meaning, in practice, racial arrogance and hatred) has been implanted in man by nature, and that every dilution or obliteration of natural antagonism must be rejected.

FRIEDRICH HERTZ

Quoted by Lee J. Levinger in

Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 209

243. Hitler . . . to justify his intention to exterminate the Jew . . . had to involve some theory of race; hence he created the mythical Aryan, alternatively called the Nordic, or more bluntly, the German. In actual fact he adopted this Aryan myth from Gobineau and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, whose fantastic theories were current in the anti-Semite circles of Vienna.

E. O. LORIMER

What Hitler Wants, p. 25

244. From the very beginning the racial theory was a political instrument. Created by the French Counts Boulainvilliers and Gobineau to defend the superiority and prerogatives of the "Germanic" nobility in France against the inferior "Celts."

ERICH KAHLER

Contemporary Jewish Record, January-February, 1940

2. DEBUNKING THE MYTH

245. The fact of the unity of the human race is proved . . . in its anatomy. It is proved also by the close similarity in what all races are physically fitted for. No difference among human races has affected limbs and teeth and relative strength so that one race is biologically outfitted like a lion and another biologically outfitted like a lamb. All races of men can either plow or fight, and all the racial differences among them are in nonessentials such as texture of head hair, amount of body hair, shape of the nose or head, or color of the eyes and the skin. The white race is the hairiest, but a white man's hair isn't thick enough to keep him warm in cold climates. The Negro's dark skin gives him some protection against strong sunlight in the tropics, and white men often have to take precautions against sunstroke. But the war has shown that white men can work and fight even in a tropical desert. Today white men in hot countries wear sunhelmets and protect themselves with clothes and rub their skins with sun-tan oil. Very dark-skinned people in the north, too, can add cod-liver oil and orange juice to their diet, and, if they need to, take a vitamin pill or two. The shape of the head, too, is a racial trait; but whether it is round or long, it can house a good brain.

The races of mankind are what the Bible says they are—brothers. In their bodies is the record of their brotherhood.

The greatest adventure story in the history of the world is the spread of early man to all corners of the globe. With crude tools, without agriculture, without domesticated animals except the dog, he pressed on, from somewhere in Asia, to the tip of Africa, to the British Isles, across Behring Strait into America and down to Cape Horn. He occupied the islands of the Pacific and the continent of Australia. The world had a small population then, and many of these pioneers were for centuries as separated from other peoples as if they lived on another planet. Slowly they developed physical differences.

Those who settled nearer the equator, whether in Europe, Asia,

or in the Americas, developed a darker skin color than those who settled to the north of them. People's hair is often the same over great areas; frizzly hair, lank hair, wavy hair. Europeans remained quite hairy, but in some parts of the world body hair almost disappeared. Blue eyes appeared in the north. In some places in Asia a fold of skin developed over the inner corner of the eye and produces what we call a slant eye. All these distinctive traits made it easy to recognize people as belonging to different parts of the world. In each place the people got used to looking at one another. They said, "Our men are really men. Our women are beautiful. This is the way people should look." Sometimes they liked the appearance of their close neighbors. But strangers seemed odd and queer. Strangers wore funny clothes and their manners were bad. Even more important, strangers did not look the way people should. Their noses were too flat or too pointed. Their skin was "a sickly white" or "a dirty black." They were too fat or too short. Everywhere in the world men and women used the standard of their own people to judge others and thought that people who differed from this standard looked funny or ugly.

After the discovery of America by Columbus, Europeans began traveling to every quarter of the globe, and all the new peoples they met were complete strangers to them. For one thing, the Europeans couldn't understand their languages. They looked and acted strange. Europeans thought they were different creatures and named a lot of different "races." Gradually the Europeans described each one as having a skin color, kind of hair, kind of lips, height, and head shape that was peculiar to that "race." Nowadays we know that this was a false impression. . . .

For ages men have spoken of "blood relations" as if different peoples had different blood. Some people have shouted that if we got into our veins the blood of someone with a different head shape, eye color, hair texture, or skin color, we should get some of that person's physical and mental characteristics.

Modern science has revealed this to be pure superstition. All human blood is the same, whether it is the blood of an Eskimo or a Frenchman, of the "purest" German "Aryan" or an African pygmy except for one medically important difference. This medical difference was discovered when doctors first began to use blood transfusion in order to save life. In early attempts at transfusion it was discovered that "agglutination" or clumping together of the red cells sometimes occurred and caused death. Gradually, investigators learned that there are four types of blood, called, O, A, B, and AB,

and that although blood typed O can be mixed successfully with the other three none of these can be mixed with one another without clumping.

These four types of blood are inherited by each child from its forebears. But Whites, Negroes, Mongols, and all races of men have all these blood types. The color of their skin does not tell at all which blood type they have. You and an Australian bushman may have the same blood type. Because you inherit your bodily traits from your many different ancestors, you may have a different blood type from your mother or your father or your brothers and sisters. You may have eyes like your mother's, teeth and hair like your father's, feet like your grandfather's, and a blood type like your great-grandmother's.

Today doctors do not "type" blood for transfusion at all. The red and white cells or corpuscles are removed, and the remainder is the same whatever race it comes from. The Blood Bank calls it plasma. It is dried and kept indefinitely. When needed for emergency transfusions, it is mixed with water and can save the life of any man or woman in the world. The same blood plasma is used to restore any man of any color who has been wounded in battle. . . .

Recently scientists found that skin color is determined by two special chemicals. One of these, carotene, gives a yellow tinge, the other, melanin, contributes the brown. These colors, along with the pinkish tinge that comes when the blood vessels show through, give various shades to the human skin. Every person, however light or dark his skin may appear, has some of each of these materials in his skin. The one exception is the albino, who lacks coloring substances—and albinos appear among dark and light-skinned peoples alike. People of browner complexions simply have more melanin in their skin, people of yellowish color more carotene. It is not an all-or-nothing difference; it is a difference in proportion. Your skin color is due to the amount of these chemicals present in the skin. . . .

Aryans, Jews, Italians, are not races. Aryans are people who speak Indo-European, "Aryan" languages. Hitler uses the term in many ways—sometimes for blond Europeans, including the Scandinavian; sometimes for Germans, whether blond or brunet; sometimes for all who agree with him politically, including the Japanese. As Hitler uses it, the term "Aryan" has no meaning, racial, linguistic, or otherwise. . . .

The Germans have claimed to be a pure German race, but no European is a pure anything. A country has a population. It does not have a race. If you go far enough back in the population of

Europe you are apt to find all kinds of ancestors: Cro-Magnons, Slavs, Mongols, Africans, Celts, Saxons and Teutons.

RUTH BENEDICT and GENE WELTFISH
The Races of Mankind, p. 4-6, 8, 10-13

246. If the number of Jews in the world today is sixteen million, it has been calculated that at least four or five times that number of non-Jews have an appreciable admixture of Jewish blood. We are reminded of the legend of the Spanish king who, shortly after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, decreed that any person with Jewish blood in his veins must wear a yellow hat, the old Jewish badge. The next day the court fool brought him three hats: "one for Your Majesty, one for myself and one for the Chief Inquisitor."

LEE J. LEVINGER
Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 228

247. . . . Like most nations of today, what is known as the Deutsche Volk is in itself a hybrid people, composed of Germanic, Celtic, Slavic, and Lithuanian elements; even the name of Prussia, comes from a Lithuanian tribe.

OTTO D. TOLISCHUS
New York Times Magazine, January 21, 1937

248. Aryan: When you employ this term you refer not to a race of human beings but only to a family, or group, of languages to which the major European languages belong. The Aryan language was spoken by a pre-historic people who spread over India and Europe. Their origin is unknown. . . . These people were not all blondes. For in their folk-tales, surviving in the literature of India, they sometimes described themselves as dark-eyed and dark-haired. The unwritten language of the Moslem Kurds, inhabiting the Turkish highlands, belongs to the Aryan language group as do English and also Yiddish, the latter a modern dialect spoken by thousands of Jews. Therefore, a Kurdish-speaking Moslem and a Yiddish-speaking Jew are exactly as "Aryan" in language as any person speaking English or German. . . .

Semitic: When you employ this term you refer not to a race of human beings, but only to a family or group of languages to which Arabic, as well as Hebrew, belongs. . . .

Race: When you employ this term you are referring not to nationality or culture or religion, but only to biological heredity and physical type. . . . There is no evidence that the intellectual capacities of any one race are superior to those of any other. . . . The apparent

differences in the capacities of various races are due to differences in training. When members of different races receive the same training they show themselves to be very much the same in brain power.

From a compilation by CAROLINE SINGER
What the Scientists Say, p. 5, 6, 10, 11, 12

249. That unity of race, which is the foundation of the policies of the German government, does not exist. . . . It must be understood as a fundamental axiom that heredity is a matter of transmission of qualities from parents to children, that in every race are contained so many different forms that the characteristics of the race are merely the conglomerate of all the numerous distinct lines of descent contained in the population.

It is a pseudo-science, built up to sustain ancient prejudices, that is called upon by the present German government to justify its claim that a single drop of non-Aryan blood is sufficient to exclude from the community of Germans even those who are most intensely German in feeling and thought. . . .

Aryan is a linguistic term . . . is anyone who speaks an Aryan language—Swede as well as American Negro or Hindu . . . has nothing to do with race. . . .

It is fiction to speak of a German race. . . . There is no "German race"; there are only local types which are very different from one another, each of which comprises individuals of different characteristics, so that representatives of all these types may be found in any part of Germany and of the neighboring countries. The East German is closer to his Polish neighbor than to the Frisian; the Tyrolese Slavs have more similarity to the East Alpine Slav than to the north German, the Rhinelander more to the neighboring Frenchman than to the German in more distinct parts. . . .

. . . There is no more a Semitic than there is an Aryan race, since both terms define linguistic groups, not human beings.

FRANZ BOAS
Aryans and Non-Aryans, p. 3, 4, 8

3. JEWS NOT PURE RACIAL STRAIN

250. Modern thought has nursed a brood of variegated absurdities, but none of its progeny has a greater potency for evil than have the current theories of race. Racial hatred is a very ancient phenomenon, being based on a dislike and distrust of foreigners in certain competitive conditions of life; but it has remained for modern man to perform the service of dressing up this primitive instinct

in an academic tinsel and labeling the result "scientific." . . . Evidence has disclosed no basis for any doctrine of racial superiority based on blood chemistry. . . . Superiority of one people over another has been shown to derive, not from heredity or blood, but from the cultural, social, and religious environment. There are no fundamentally inferior races. . . . There is only one humanity.

Most people, when they think of them, imagine the Jews to be a homogeneous group, of a uniform racial type in all parts of the world. Nothing could be further from the truth. There is no such thing as a Jewish race, in the biological sense of the term. The Israelites constitute a social and religious community, certainly very strong and very coherent; but its elements are heterogeneous in the extreme.

Anthropological studies have revealed that from the beginning the Jews were not a single people of one origin but were a hybrid stock composed of Semitic elements to which had been added large numbers of non-Semitic Hittites, fair-haired Amorites, and many other peoples, who had been drawn together and fused by a common religious belief and a common culture. In fact the long, hooked nose, which tradition and comedy always ascribe to the Hebrews, is not a Semitic trait but was introduced into the Jewish stock by Hittites. During the whole course of their history the Jews have always absorbed appreciable infiltrations of foreign blood. . . . Conversions of Greeks, Romans and other nationals to the Jewish religion occurred very frequently, especially during the last two centuries before Christ; and in every period since then individuals of different races have attached themselves to the Jewish religious community.

These Judaized people have been drawn from every ethnic strain, such as the Falashas of Abyssinia, the Germans and Slavs of Northern Europe, the Tamils or Black Jews of India, and the Khazars of Western Asia, who are related to the Turks. About the year 745 A.D. the entire kingdom of this latter people . . . embraced Judaism . . . and for more than two centuries and a half, its rulers were exclusively Jewish. The result of this constant intermingling has been that only a small proportion of the present day Jews represent the people who once dwelt in the region around the Jordan. Extensive scientific investigations have borne this out. Tests show that the German Jews are physically much closer to their fellow Germans than they are to their coreligionists in Palestine. The similarity appears in the head-form, the proportions of the body, pigmentation and facial traits.

FATHER JOSEPH N. MOODY

Why Are Jews Persecuted?, p. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8

251. The anthropological evidence shows that the Jews are by no means a single race in their physical make-up. They produce pure Nordic types in Germany (though usually in a minority), pure Arab types in Yeman. There are even black Jews in Ethiopia and Yellow Jews in China. Everywhere they resemble their non-Jewish neighbors more than their fellow Jews in distant lands.

LEE J. LEVINGER

Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 226

252. So, for the first time since antiquity, true Christians suffer the same fate as Jews—with this vital difference: Christians can still choose whether to be faithful to Christianity or to deny it. . . . For Jews this choice no longer exists. The dogma of race has . . . made them collectively culpable. In all former persecutions the fate of the Jew was comparable to the fate of the Christian of today. Through baptism, whether real or apparent, he could escape that collective indictment and live in security. The object of all former oppressions, expulsions, and pogroms was to bring the Jew into the other camp, to make a Christian of him, to assimilate him. Today, for the first time, the object is to expel the Jews utterly, to exclude them unconditionally, in other words, to exterminate them. With the dogma of race, the persecution of the Jew has today for the first time become complete and worldwide. Not only is there no longer an escape in baptism, but there is hardly a refuge under the protection of any human power. . . . Formerly when the Jews were driven from one country there was another to take them in. It remained for our times to create an international situation in which Jews . . . range the world for weeks in ships that can land them nowhere but in the arms of inevitable torture and death.

ERICH KAHLER

Contemporary Jewish Record, January-February, 1940

4. CIVILIZATION BUILT BY ALL PEOPLES

253. History proves that progress in civilization is not the monopoly of one race or subrace. When our white forebears in Europe were rude stone age primitives, the civilizations of the Babylonians and the Egyptians had already flourished and been eclipsed. There were great Negro states in Africa when Europe was sparsely settled forest. Negroes made iron tools and wove fine cloth for their clothing when fair-skinned Europeans wore skins and knew nothing of iron. . . .

All races have made their contributions to human knowledge. Those who lived at the crossroads of the world have invented most; those who have lived isolated . . . have been content to earn their livelihood by old traditional methods. . . . Peoples who came into contact with strangers, however, gave what arts of life they had and took what the strangers had. These contributions to civilization accumulated over the centuries and on this accumulation new discoveries are based. We are all the gainers.

RUTH BENEDICT and GENE WELTFISH
The Races of Mankind, p. 21, 23

254. America was not built by anti-Semitism, or anti-Protestantism or hatred for the Catholics, or by the fantastic doctrines of racial superiority that are practiced elsewhere. America was built to greatness by a partnership of men and women who represent every race and nationality that inhabits the globe. The good things of life that you and I enjoy we owe not to Catholics alone, or Jews alone, or Englishmen or Irish alone; we do not owe them to Aryans or non-Aryans alone, or to White and Black alone; we owe them to all God's children of every color and nation and creed—to all God's children whom he loves each alike with that same love which "passeth all understanding."

FRANK MURPHY
The New York Times, January 7, 1940

255. Many races have produced great civilizations, the Egyptian, Babylonian, Greek, and Roman in turn. In the great period of Greek civilization, Aristotle actually considered the German barbarians incapable of culture and born to be slaves. This was simply the same argument applied under different social conditions. Great civilizations have even been developed by other than White races, as witness China and India of the past. . . .

No race has a monopoly of any single talent. Every people has produced great warriors, including barbaric peoples. Perhaps the greatest of them all have been nomads like Genghis Khan or Tamerlane. If Germany has produced a Luther, before him came Buddha and Jesus; if she has brought forth a Kant, he was preceded by Plato and Spinoza; if she had a Goethe, there were also Homer and Dante. Her Gothic art is marvelous, but so too are the Greek temples and the Roman amphitheatres. In fact, in the values of civilization no race has ever stood alone. The language of Germany is Aryan; her religion is of Jewish origin; her poetic forms came to Europe

from Saracens of the Middle Ages; her very Gothic arch itself was probably a cross between the Roman and the Saracen arches, developed in a new way by the builders of the great cathedrals.

LEE J. LEVINGER

Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 218

5. RACISM DENOUNCED

256. The most succinct statement of the facts of race is contained in a resolution passed by the American Anthropological Association on December 30th, 1938. It should be required reading for every high school and college student. I reprint it in full:

WHEREAS, the prime requisites of science are honest and unbiased search for truth and the freedom to proclaim such truth when discovered and known, and

WHEREAS, anthropology in many countries is being conscripted and its data distorted and misinterpreted to serve the cause of an unscientific racialism rather than the cause of truth;

Be It Resolved, That the American Anthropological Association repudiates such racialism and adheres to the following statement of facts:

(1) Race involves the inheritance of similar physical variations by large groups of mankind but its psychological and cultural connotations, if they exist, have not been ascertained by science.

(2) The terms Aryan and Semitic have no racial significance whatsoever. They simply denote linguistic families.

(3) Anthropology provides no scientific basis for discrimination against any people on the ground of racial inferiority, religious affiliation or linguistic heritage.

LEO W. SCHWARTZ

Where Hope Lies, p. 59-60

257. One of the most significant denunciations of anti-Semitism and racism was in the declaration of the Oxford Conference of 1937, attended by delegates from practically all non-Roman churches throughout the world. This statement declared: "The existence of different races is full of possibility for the enrichment of human life. All races share alike in God's concern. Racial pride and exploitation of other races is sin. . . . Discrimination of races or color can on no possible pretext have place within its [the Christian Church] life if it be true to Christ."

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Information Service, June 10, 1939

258. In our day, intolerance toward Jews has either masked itself under the guise of racism or has been uncamouflaged religious bigotry. In regard to the former, Pope Pius XI declared on July 30, 1938, referring to the unscientific (if not demented) racial theories of Nazism: "It is forgotten that humankind, the whole of humankind, is a single great universal human race. All men are, above all, members of the same great kind. They all belong to the single great family of the living. Humankind is therefore, a single universal race."

In September, 1938, addressing a group of Belgian pilgrims, our Holy Father said: "... No it is not possible for Christians to take part in anti-Semitism. We are Semites spiritually."

MAURICE S. SHEEHY

259. . . . It is necessary to unmask the errors and sophisms of racist law. . . . As a Catholic, it is my consolation to recall that this work of doctrinal condemnation was performed with sovereign authority by Pope Pius XI. I should like to give you here the list of racist errors compiled and condemned by him in the letter of the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities, dated April 13th, 1938:

First Error:—Human beings, by their natural constitution, inherited and unchangeable, so differ among themselves that the highest of them are farther removed from the lowest than the lowest are from the highest species of brutes.

Second Error:—Vigor of race and purity of blood must be conserved and fostered at any cost; and whatever leads to this end is by that very fact justifiable.

Third Error:—It is from blood, wherein the genius of the race is contained, that all intellectual and moral qualities flow as from their most potent source.

Fourth Error:—The principal end of education is to perfect the natural constitution of the race, and to give the mind with a burning love of one's own race, as the greatest good.

Fifth Error:—Religion is subservient to race and must be adapted to it.

Sixth Error:—The prime source and supreme rule of the whole order of justice is race instinct.

And the Last Error:—Individuals exist through the State and for the State, whatever rights they have are derived solely from the State.

JACQUES MARITAIN

Commonweal, June 4, 1943

260. . . . The main goal of every dictatorship is the introduction of slavery and . . . racism is employed as a convenient cloak of ideas to help conceal this reactionary purpose. . . . Racism is essentially and uncompromisingly anti-Parliamentary, anti-Democratic, and anti-Christian.

Racism contradicts Christianity:

1. Racism denies the sacrament of matrimony. It degrades the marriage institution to an animal performance, while imposing upon it the rules of deliberate race-breeding.

2. Racism denies the ethical responsibility of the individual. It maintains that nobody can act other than the instincts and the faculties of his "race" compel him to. Hence Christian morality and law lose their fundamental meaning.

3. Racism sanctions evil impulses, interpreting as weakness the struggle against them.

4. Racism denies God and deifies Superman. It openly attempts to abolish Christian festivals and introduces old nature rites. It replaces Jesus Christ by the early god of the Sun and accordingly gives to Christmas the meaning of the pagan solstice celebration.

5. Racism denies the unity of the spirit. It argues that individuals of different stocks can neither understand one another nor approve the same ideals.

6. Racism denies the unique significance of every individual.

7. Racism preaches the right of the strong to destroy and oppress the weak.

8. Christianity stresses . . . the equality of all men. . . . Racism raises inequality to the dignity of political doctrine.

MAXIMILLIAN BECK

The Protestant, October, 1939

E. RELIGIOUS

1. CRUCIFIXION

261. But beyond and beneath all of these friction points is one that is deeper, more abiding, and more fundamental, and that is tradition, specifically Christian tradition. This tradition is the soil in which Jew hatred grows. . . . The mere repetition of age-old slanders is accepted as substantiation of their accuracy. In other words, because the Christian atmosphere has for so long been

poisoned anti-Semitically, Jew-baiting in a mild or virulent form is normal with Christians and it requires the assertion of Christian principles or a sense of humanity and fairness to root it out.

This anti-Jewish tradition is as old as Christianity itself. The New Testament clearly reflects the hostility between the early Christians and the Jews, however large the number of Jewish adherents Jesus had at first.

In the New Testament, the Jews are "hard hearted and uncircumcised of heart"; . . . "they are hypocrites"; "blind leaders of the blind." . . . And then there is the supreme tragedy, the judicial lynching of Jesus in less than twelve hours "by the Jews."

Imagine now a pious and receptive Christian child learning the mysteries of its religion out of the Bible, parochial school, in Sunday School, and from the pulpit. Again and again it is the perverse, stubborn, Jesus-hating Jews that appear as the villains in the piece. And hardly ever have the teachers and preachers been conscious of the fact that they were planting the seeds or nourishing the growth of the noxious weed of anti-Semitism.

In the early Church, every Church Father wrote a tract against the Jews. . . . It was only natural that the Christians should respond with anti-Semitism and that this tradition should carry on through the centuries as a disgrace to Christianity. Lacking a scapegoat for natural disasters, adversities, plagues, or hard times, there were always the Christ-killers. The pious crusaders marching to free the Holy City from the infidel Turks took time out on their way to slaughter the Jews, other enemies of Christ. A monastic chronicler records simply: "In this year, with the help of God, we again persecuted the Jews."

After a time, this deeply-rooted antagonism found expression in a long series of legal restrictions as to marriage, residence, occupation, landholding . . . and the wearing of a special badge by all Jews in order to identify them. The pretexts for these measures were found in secular fields. The Jews were usurers and extortioners, they took trade and commerce away from Christian merchants, they killed Christians when they attended them as physicians, they dominated the money market. But none of these charges would have been made, had it not been for the dominance of anti-Semitism in Christian thought. As the Judge said in a famous case: "They may be innocent of these particular charges, but they deserved their punishment nevertheless."

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

How to Combat Anti-Semitism in America, p. 18, 19, 20

262. For fifteen centuries this propaganda went on at full force, without a break. . . . Every child, almost as soon as he could lisp, was taught that Jesus Christ, his Savior, was killed by "the Jews." Men who had never seen a Jew were filled from babyhood with resentment which only sought the opportunity for expression. The Jewish problem existed for them before they rightfully knew what a Jew was. Here, in the nursery was the misery of anti-Semitism. . . . In the Middle Ages . . . religion was a public affair. . . . It affected every activity. . . . For a Jew to be seen abroad on Good Friday, was to court death, for all the rabble of the town would attempt to avenge on him, by pelting him through the streets, the crime allegedly perpetrated by his hypothetical ancestors so many generations before.

LOUIS GOLDING

The Jewish Problem, p. 34, 43, 48

263. The hatred of the Christian Church against the Jews was in a sense a perpetuation of the pagan antipathy. In its earliest stages, Christianity suffered from the same pagan persecutions as the Jews did. As Christianity grew stronger and more wide-spread, the influence of pagan elements on it increased and drew away from its Jewish origins. Since Christianity could never sever itself from its Jewish origins, and, therefore, Judaism could not be set aside, the only path left open for the Church was to conserve Judaism and at the same time degrade it, to keep it in a state of vassalage so as to demonstrate the objection of all unbelievers. The transference to all Jews of the guilt for the Crucifixion was the first step in the process. It was followed, in the course of a long sectarian struggle, by measures which widened the breach between Jews and Christians. This was done by shifting the dates of Christian holidays, changing the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday, and by the introduction of legislation aimed at affecting social separation. . . . In order to safeguard its position against heresy, the Church persecuted Judaism, its most dangerous adversary, through violent polemics, incitement to pogroms, and forced conversions. Only gradually did Christianity adopt milder methods.

ERICH KAHLER

Contemporary Jewish Record, January-February, 1940, p. 38, 39

264. In almost all cases the genesis of Jew-hatred precedes the Jewish question. Anti-Semitism, therefore, is not based on a judgment but on prejudice; not on knowledge, but on instincts. . . . Anti-Semitism . . . is based on an artificial and not on a natural instinct; it is acquired and not innate. The history of the origin of

anti-Semitism leads us to early childhood. . . . The anti-Semitic instinct, too, mostly originates in a childish prejudice. The child sees a crucifix and asks for its meaning. It is told in a reply that the man on the cross is the dear Savior (whom the child loves and adores as the Holy Infant) whom the Jews had tortured to death. There naturally arises in the child a profound abhorrence of his enemies and murderers, the Jews. When the child subsequently hears or sees Jews, it spontaneously associates them with the murderers of Christ and feels towards them a well-founded antipathy. With this antipathy the child grows up and is biased, distrustful, and hostile when it comes into contact with the Jews; this behavior is naturally reciprocated and thus always provides new food for anti-Semitism.

The anti-Semite becomes an adolescent, loses his faith and the belief of his childhood and forgets his early influences which were hostile to the Jews. On the other hand, he retains his dislike for the Jews, an antipathy which, since the history of its origin has slipped from his memory, now appears to him to be the expression of an intuitive knowledge. He now looks around for new theories calculated to justify this instinctive anti-Semitism which has lost its roots and he has recourse to treatises on racial theories, not with a view to testing his prejudices, but to confirming them. The pseudo-scientific racial anti-Semitism produces upon him the effect of a revelation which he accepts without discrimination, because it coincides with his instincts, flatters his vanity, and scientifically justifies his prejudices.

COUNT HEINRICH COUDENHOVE-KALERGI

Anti-Semitism Throughout the Ages, p. 246, 247, 248

265. What is the background of all this hatred? It has its roots in the crucifixion story. A careful study of it as given in the Gospels shows that a few Jewish priests had a part in the condemnation of Jesus. This need not surprise us because Pagan and Christian priests did the same thing to their philosophers and reformers. Christian history is stained with the blood of Christian Reformers, and the heresy-hunters have not died out. . . .

But what are the other facts as told in the Gospels in connection with the crucifixion story? There we are told that it was Pilate who ordered the crucifixion of Jesus which he did for political reasons. The Jews at that time had lost the right to inflict capital punishment. That right the Romans reserved for themselves. We also read in the Gospels that Roman soldiers scourged, mocked, and nailed him to the Cross . . . that Jewesses wept for him when he was led to Calvary; that a Jew carried his Cross to Calvary when he was

too physically exhausted to do it himself; that Jews of prominence and wealth gave him an honorable burial; that Jews were his first martyrs for his cause. Christians should know all this as it is recorded in the New Testament.

How can we blame all the Jews of that age for the crucifixion of Jesus when the vast majority lived outside of Palestine, scattered from the Euphrates to the Danube, and never saw him, and never heard of him until missionaries came to them with the story of Jesus. . . .

AMOS J. DUSHAW

Anti-Semitism—The Voice of Folly and Destruction, p. 76, 77

266. If we were to face the Jewish question honestly and squarely, we would find other underlying causes for hatred than political and economic reasons, beneath which lies the germ of hatred and bigotry. We would also discover that some of the Christian doctrines and textbooks are largely responsible for the fomenting hatred and fanning the fire for Jewish persecutions. The people may not be aware of it, but it is true. . . .

I believe the reason for this hatred is because a large number of Christians are made to believe that the Jews killed their God and that they have no respect for the truth and religion. These people feel that they have their reason for hating and mistrusting them. This charge against them has always created strong barriers between them and the Christians. I have heard some of these charges in every country where I have traveled. As a boy at school and in the street, I was told if I ate bread with a Jew I would never be forgiven and would find myself in hell. . . . During the Passover week, children were warned not to go out unaccompanied fearing the Jews would steal them and kill and put their blood in their dough. Such are some of the false charges against the Jew.

GEORGE LAMSA

The Churchman, April 15, 1944

267. . . . The fact that the Jews profess a religion different from that of the people among whom they dwell has had an influence on their history. Religious differences cause friction among men in proportion to the intensity with which such beliefs are held. Men are never tolerant of anything that concerns them deeply; and in those periods when religion was the supreme concern of man, it was natural that some antagonism should be felt for those who professed contrary doctrines. This resentment has been heightened in the case of the Jew, by the tenacity with which he has held to his religion throughout the greater part of his history and by the fact that Judaism has often appeared to men as a particularly alien and ex-

clusive creed. . . . The ritual and dietary prescriptions of the Talmudic Judaism were designed primarily to stress the distinction between the chosen people and the Gentiles. . . . They served their purpose of erecting a hedge around the ancient faith, but they also aroused the hostility of men of other creeds.

Many modern authors consider religious fanaticism as the fundamental cause of anti-Semitism. This view is set forth in the famous work of H. Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Anti-Semitism Throughout the Ages*. According to this opinion, Christianity is essentially hostile to its parent because of the circumstances of our Savior's life and death; and the bitterness was intensified by the subsequent rejection of the new religion by the majority of the Jews.

Undoubtedly this point of view is highly exaggerated. Although the Jew's rejection of Christ's teaching did, it is true, leave impression on Christian consciousness, as can be seen for the liturgy of Good Friday, it can hardly be the prime cause of anti-Semitism. The fact that Christ was rejected by many of the chosen people is offset by the equally important consideration that Mary, the Apostles, and most of the early Christians were themselves Jews. The Old Testament has been accepted in its entirety by Christianity. . . . Besides, the above theory could not explain the antipathy to the Jew in non-Christian lands, nor the present attack upon him, which emanates almost entirely from non-religious and often anti-Christian forces.

FATHER JOSEPH N. MOODY

Why Are Jews Persecuted?, p. 33-35

268. The Jew has not been hounded for the better part of the past thirteen centuries because of fictions about ritual murders or because he shoves in the subways, or, even, because he "killed Christ"—an assertion to which Jews are inclined to give fantastic overemphasis. He has not been hounded for these reasons both because these reasons have not mattered that much for that long, and because he has often been hounded in times and in places where they did not matter at all.

I have not been able to find that a lack of social graces or too much economic acumen figured in the Inquisition. Ritual murders—or religious accusations of any other kind—were no important part of the anti-Semitism that flourished in the first decade of this century in France, and are no part whatever of the anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany. I have seen painstaking studies of anti-Semitism in the United States and have conducted one myself. I have yet to see any evidence that the story of Christ's crucifixion has had any considerable effect on its rise or that the efforts now under way to modify

that story in the interest of inter-religious harmony will cause its appreciable decline.

These are not anti-Semitism. These are its fronts. The fronts change. The thing that age-in, age-out has remained unchanging is not the pretexts, but the anti-Semitism. That makes it one of the most amazing phenomena in the history of human relationships. It is much too amazing and unique to be dismissed by seasonal explanations drawn from the headlines. The fact that lies back of the changing headlines and back of all the changing fronts and pretexts is that the basic reasons for anti-Semitism have never changed.

STANLEY HIGH

Harpers Magazine, June, 1942

2. CHRISTIAN DOCTRINES

269. The Christian religion, whether in the form of Catholicism, the Orthodox Church, or Protestantism, has been a factor perennially hostile to Judaism ever since the time of Paul. The centuries reflect each other so faithfully, that even in 20th century Russia, owing to a sort of historical connection, the murder of Jews took place preferably at Easter. Ever since the days of Constantine, the opposition of the Christian State to the Jews has been the primary manifestation of its being. Here, too, the modern copy is true to the original, for there is no difference between the ecclesiastical canon, raised to the dignity of a State Law, which forbade a Jew to fill any official post which gave him authority over a Christian, and the practice of a modern government which does not even require the sanction of any special legal measure in order to prevent a Jew from exercising such authority. Equally hoary is the hostility shown by every country at every stage of its economic development to the Jew on account of his economic activities, and ever since the rise of Christianity every age has raised the common cry that Judaism aimed at the extermination of Christianity.

JOSEF KASTEIN

History and Destiny of the Jews, p. 432

270. The argument, so often reflected, that this or that nation ought not to be required to submit to a Jewish minister or judge is a relic of the old canonic teachings that the Jews were subject to Christians from the very beginning, and had no right to be given any power over them.

ERICH KAHLER

Contemporary Jewish Record, January-February, 1940

271. If the Jew is today despised and feared and hated, it is because we are the heirs of the Middle Ages. If it is possible for

demagogues to sow the seeds of disunion and discord, to stir fanatical emotions and set neighbor against neighbor, it is because the figure of the "demonic" Jew, less than human, indeed, anti-human, the creation of the medieval mind, still dominates the folk imagination. . . .

No, hatred of the Jew rests upon no rational base. When everything has been said about the psychological xenophobia that rejects "difference" and resents minority cultures, about the economic and social frictions that exacerbate social relations, about the astute and persuasive propaganda techniques of anarchial demagogues, about the need for a scapegoat for release of social tension, about the imperfections of the Jews themselves, and their abnormal economic status—and all these are potent *immediate* stimuli of active Jew hatred—the *ultimate* source, buried deep in the mass subconscious, is still untouched. Underneath the present stimuli, and contributing to them their explosive potentiality, lies the powder keg of emotional predisposition, of a conception of the Jew which has nothing to do with facts or logic. . . .

Anti-Semitic propaganda paints a fantastic Jekyll-Hyde portrait of "the International Jew." . . . To them the Jew represents the mysterious, fearsome evil forces which from time immemorial have menaced the peace and security of mankind. The hypocritical hocus-focus of the professional anti-Semite makes its calculated impression: The simple common man may not comprehend its source but he does understand its meaning. This is simply the new way of expressing his inherited dread.

The mass mind is eminently retentive. . . . We may please to consider ourselves "moderns" but under our skeptical rationalism and scientific objectivity, the conceptions of our fore-fathers are still potent motivating forces. . . . Rationalize as it may, the Jew whom the world fears and hates is a heritage from the past—and the not-so-distant past at that. All our wrestling with the rationalizations is pointless effort until we uncover the hidden emotional roots from which illogic and untruth acquire the color of truth and meaning. . . .

Modern so-called "scientific" anti-Semitism is not an invention of Hitler's. But it was born in Germany during the last century, and it has flourished primarily in Central and Eastern Europe, where medieval ideas and conditions have persisted until this day, and where the medieval conception of the Jew which underlies the prevailing emotional antipathy toward him was and still is most deeply rooted. (Medieval defines not a chronological but a mental epoch). . . .

"The proficiency of the Jews in magic and their kinship with

Satan would reveal . . . the ultimate spring of medieval Jew-hatred." . . . This is the conception, based upon the crassest superstitions and credulity, that has permeated to the lower depths of Western culture, and which we must . . . expose to the light of day if we are to comprehend the ultimate spring not only of medieval Jew-hatred but of its modern . . . version. Here in this region of the vast subconscious we shall uncover the source of many a weird notion—of the horned Jew, of the Jewish thirst for Christian blood . . . of the secret parliament of world Jewry . . . of a distinctive Jewish odor . . . notions that still prevail among the people, and that have been advanced by official Nazi publications. . . . But, more important, here we shall uncover the spring of the general conviction that prompts Jew hatred: Of the Jew as an alien, evil, anti-social and anti-human creature. . . .

Anti-Jewish prejudice is older and more extensive than Christendom. It would be absurd to attribute its every manifestation to doctrinaire Christian hatred of the "Christ-killers." But its unique demonological character is of medieval origin, with premonitions in earlier times of the turn it was destined to take; the "demonic" Jew was born of a combination of cultural and historic factors peculiar to Christian Europe in the later Middle Ages. . . .

The two inexorable enemies of Jesus . . . in Christian legend were the devil and the Jew, and it was inevitable that the legend should establish a casual relation between them. . . .

This, then, was the general background of the medieval conception of and attitude toward the Jew: A church-fostered contempt and hatred which had sunk so deeply into the public consciousness that not even the highest authority of Church and State was able to meliorate it. . . .

The mythical Jew, outlined by early Christian theology and ultimately puffed out to impossible proportions, supplanted the real Jew in the medieval mind, until that real Jew to all intents and purposes ceased to exist—the only Jew whom the medieval Christian recognized was a figment of the imagination. . . .

Protestant reform made no difference so far as the Jew was concerned; its attitude toward him remained fixed in medieval tradition. The era of rationalism and liberalism made no difference—it passed the masses by unnoticed. Not until medieval habits of thought—and the social conditions in which they flourish—have been uprooted will there be a difference.

JOSHUA TRACHTENBERG

The Devil and the Jews, p. xii, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 20, 166, 167, 216

272. Every conscientious Christian would be happy if he could say that nothing Christians have done during the two millennia of their history has ever contributed to a worsening of the lot of the Jews in their midst. Candor, however, forbids such a statement. Indeed some Christian scholars have even advanced the thesis that whatever other factors may be at work, it is Christian hostility towards the Jews in times past that constitutes the greatest motivating force of anti-Semitism today.

This thesis is undoubtedly extreme. A list of all the instances in which Christians have ostracized Jews or subjected them to disabilities still ignores the consideration that anti-Semitism is but one aspect of the whole problem of minorities.

Those who seek to explain the true causes of anti-Semitism must be careful not to over-simplify the issue. Before we begin to assess the part played by Christian hostility in the genesis of anti-Semitism we must be fully aware of the irrational prejudices which color all in-group and out-group relationships or the attitude of any majority to a minority in its midst. When Christians persecuted Jews on ostensibly religious grounds, it is not improbable that they would have done so anyway, even without this pretext. Aside from all questions of religious belief, the Christians were the dominant majority while the Jews were a minority group.

Nevertheless, let us hasten to add that Christians do have something to confess. Their past treatment of the Jews has in many instances been neither enlightened nor, even more to the point, Christian.

Consider the manner in which Christians have dealt with the Jews for well-nigh two millennia. Up to the fourth century, the Christians as well as Jews were a minority in the Roman world. Relations between them were not cordial, but neither had the opportunity to oppress the other. So far as persecution was concerned it was the Christians who first knew its meaning. While they were suffering under Decius, Valerius, and Diocletian, the Jews throughout the empire remained untouched.

Then came the Edict of Milan in 313 A.D., and the Christians, previously a persecuted minority, were accorded toleration. Almost immediately the position of the Jews began to alter. Christians had a special grudge against the Jews. In the old Roman law, Judaism had been characterized as a "most illustrious faith, certainly legitimate." But with Christianity no longer under the ban, and with their clergy advising the Emperors how to deal with Jewry, im-

perial edicts began to speak of Jews as a "sacrilegious gathering" or "nefarious sect." The days of toleration for the Jews were coming to an end. The Christians, so lately persecuted, were soon to become the persecutors.

The first anti-Jewish laws were not however particularly repressive. They simply threatened the Jew with burning if he sought to dissuade converts to the Christian faith and denied him the right to own Christian slaves. They indicated, however, that a new tendency was beginning to develop. When later Constantius forbade the Jews to own pagan slaves the ban was purely vindictive. In an economy in which slave labor was the basis of all agriculture and industry, the denial of the right to own slaves meant the denial of the right to participate in normal economic life.

Soon the Christian clergy were insisting that no Jew be permitted to occupy any position of authority over Christians. The employment of Christian servants in Jewish homes encountered strict supervision. Jewish physicians were forbidden to attend Christian patients. No Christian was to eat or sleep in the same house with a Jew. All these demands sprang from the quite understandable desire to protect Christians who were weak in their faith from all contact with the rival sect known as Judaism. But the tendency to subject the Jew to economic disabilities, in order to shield Christians who could not resist the appeal of Judaism was becoming established in the very structure of the Christian community. Ultimately the Jew was driven from the soil, he was not permitted to buy or even lease land for purposes of agriculture. He was excluded from the guilds which held a monopoly over most of the crafts. But what the Christians did permit the Jew to do for a living is highly significant. He was allowed to deal in second-hand goods, mainly old clothes. He could become a peddler, an occupation sufficiently hazardous to render it unattractive to Christians. He was allowed to put out money at interest; or rather, not so much permitted, as urged into this business by the Church law forbidding Christians to practice usury. Christians of that day were no more inclined than are those of the present, to put out money gratis, so the existence of the Church law made it necessary to find a non-Christian group to perform this wicked but needful of functions. For the fulfilling of this function the Jewish money lender was called into existence.

What finally happened (we are speaking here in terms of centuries), was that the Jews who originally had been craftsmen or agriculturists in the Roman world, were transformed into peddlers, silversmiths, money lenders, and the second-hand dealers of the

medieval world. They lived in a section of the city set apart for them—the section later known as the “ghetto.” As a penalty for being different in matters of religion, the Jew was gradually made over by social pressure into a creature different from his gentile neighbor in so many new and additional respects that he became all the more hateful. He became so different that it required a minor social disturbance to whip the mob into a fury of destructive rage, leading to arson, pillage, and murder throughout the Jewish quarter.

Fatefully, although without deliberate intention, the Christian community throughout the latter part of the first millennium subjected the Jews to exactly those disabilities which prepared the way for the butcheries which were to follow. The spark which started the conflagration was directed by the Crusades. “Why should we cross the seas to make war upon the infidel while there are infidels within our midst?” the Crusaders demanded as they governed in the Rhineland. Giving suitable answer to their question, they proceeded to slaughter the Jewish “infidels” along the Rhine, the Main and the Danube. No responsible Christian leader had suggested that the Jews be treated this way. The responsible leaders protested.

Yet the Church was in part responsible. For a long period preceding the Crusades the Church had inculcated precisely those sentiments against Jews which in a time of stress would most certainly produce the very action which it would be forced to condemn.

Later, during the devastation of the Black Death, a story spread that the Jews were poisoning the wells. The spreading of this rumor led to the murderous destruction of 350 Jewish communities. Again, the Church itself had nothing to do with this nonsense, although ignorant monks and clerics unquestionably had a hand in it. The whole affair was typical of what is bound to happen in times of great suffering and stress if the community has within its midst a minority which the majority has been trained to regard with suspicion and contempt.

Then came the era of the fantastic ritual murder trials and the charge that the Jews were in the habit of desecrating the Host. Papal Bulls were issued refuting the allegations. The Popes took Jews under their special protection. But this was of slight avail as the Christian community by and large regarded attacks upon the Jews as a religious duty. The savage and popular persecutions of the Jews which mark the middle ages could only have been prevented beforehand by a different attitude towards the Jews in the early days of Christendom. Excluding them from normal economic relationships in the community meant the gradual accumulation of

social strains and tensions which were eventually bound to find outlet in the most savage kind of anti-Semitic excesses.

The Christian community assuredly has much to confess with respect to its past treatment of the Jews. To be sure it is natural for any majority to behave toward a minority within its midst in very much the same manner that Christians have so often behaved toward Jews. Majorities nearly always abuse their power. But raw instinct and Christian behavior are two different things. The confession we have is therefore that the ancient Christian community certainly maltreated the Jews. We must hasten to add, however, that it did so not because it was Christian, but because it was only partially so.

DONALD M. STERLING

Social Action, November, 1940

273. The Jewish problem in Europe is a challenge to the Christian conscience. Much of the misery which Jews endure in Europe today is the direct consequence of centuries of persecution by Christians. Even the forms of oppression tend to be those that were instituted by the Church to punish Jews for not accepting its doctrines. For centuries it denied Jews the right to own land, join labor guilds, enter public service. Their exclusion from normal human relations was completed by the establishment of the first ghetto by Pope Pius IV in 1556. It is saddening to know how closely Nazi anti-Semitism follows patterns laid down by the Christian Church. Martin Luther directed some of the slogans. Goebbels has conceived no accusations against the Jews more foul than those in Luther's pamphlet, *Concerning the Jews and Their Lies*.

But the modern Jewish problem is a challenge both to the conscience and the statesmanship of the Christian world. The very presence of the defenseless Jewish minority has been a temptation to demagogues exploiting prejudice for their own advantage. The Jews, the handy scapegoat for the defeats of European rulers and the frustrations of the masses have unwittingly obstructed a genuine solution of Europe's problem. Anti-Semitism, noted a famed observer, is the socialism of fools. Drifting so often between countries that would not receive them, the Jews were an unsettling influence on European politics and on the security of established Jewish communities. For some strange reason this people from whom Jesus sprang, have evoked from Christians the most un-Christian attitudes. Hatred of the Jews made the haters hateful and opened floodgates of violence which have engulfed all civilization.

PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

The Intercollegian, May, 1942

F. SOCIAL

274. . . . Some phases of Jewish prejudice are associated with a very deep-seated kind of suspicion and fear which all people have for the foreigner. In our childhood, at least, the thing which is in any way strange is of necessity fearsome. Even an accent has an alienating quality. . . .

I am told that in rural sections of North Carolina, the word "Jew" is freely applied to any foreigner whose nationality is not closely identified. If a Greek opens a restaurant in a village, he is referred to by the inhabitants as a Jew regardless of his religious affiliations, and any Syrian peddler who passes by is also a Jew. The word in those sections simply means one is not a native. He is a stranger and an alien.

HEYWOOD BROWN and GEORGE BRITT

Christians Only—A Study in Prejudice, p. 309, 317, 318

275. To ignorant people everywhere, the man who speaks a foreign language, instead of ours, seems ignorant and at the same time sinister; he cannot understand the simple things we say; we feel he speaks secrets, doubtless about us. In the Kentucky or Tennessee Mountains, any person from outside their territory with the clothing and the speech of the majority of Americans, is a "foreigner," and is subjected to suspicion and even mistreatment. . . . It is obvious that this describes much anti-Jewish prejudice. For the Jews are different. In ancient Rome they observed the Sabbath and worshipped a single God. In Medieval Europe, they were aliens, living under their own law, never accepting the dominant Church. In modern America, they are still a different people, set apart by religion, history, habits, traditions. . . . The Jews are not different from other white nations in race, but they may sometimes seem so because of their different clothing and habits, which look like parts of the persons to the uncritical.

LEE J. LEVINGER

Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 265, 266

276. The real reason for the hatred of Jews by Christians has always been the strange and foreign mores of the former. When Jews conform to the mores of the people amongst whom they live, prejudice, and hatred are gradually diminished and in time will probably disappear. . . . In the rabbinical period, the Jews emphasized everything which could distinguish them from the heathen. . . .

WILLIAM G. SUMNER

Quoted in *Christians Only—A Study in Prejudice*, p. 311

277. The pagans could not grasp the possibility of the existence of an "invisible God." They held Jewish religious observances in contempt, particularly circumcision, observation of the Sabbath and the dietary regulations. All this wrapped the Jewish communities of the Diaspora in a veil of anomaly and secrecy which excited suspicion and favored hateful inventions.

ERICH KAHLER

Contemporary Jewish Record, January-February, 1940

278. Friday and Saturday worship, the mysterious Hebrew character and books "read backwards," hats on in the sanctuary, and strange dietary prohibitions, all conspire to obscure the great unities and agreements which exist between our faith and theirs.

AMOS B. HORLACHER

Protestant Magazine, February-March, 1941

279. The last broad cause of anti-Semitism has been national sentiment. The Jew has always been an alien in Western Europe, with markedly different religious, cultural, and national characteristics. He has always been a minority among a foreign people and for most of his history, he has clung tenaciously to his own culture. As a result, he has been disliked as a nonconformist. . . . Yet strangely enough, even where the Jew has become assimilated and has developed strong affection for the national ideal, as in Germany, he is despised by the supernationalist and condemned as a foreigner. In fact, his very attempt to make himself like the rest of his compatriots, even discarding his religion in the process, has given the greatest offense to his Nazi persecutor.

FATHER JOSEPH N. MOODY

Why Are Jews Persecuted?, p. 43

280. After all, a race that keeps mainly to itself, that counts by a different calendar, and celebrates a different series of festivals, is, when it lodges itself in other political organizations, a quasi-foreign body, and human nature being what it is, every field in which the Jew has thus established himself, becomes a battlefield, with persecution as the equivalent for the fighting which is for every other people the price of self-maintenance.

ISRAEL ZANGWILL

Quoted in *Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow*, p. 252

281. If the Jews have attained a unique status as a perennial scapegoat, it is due, not to the criminal charges against them that were fabricated in the past as they are today, but rather to the singu-

lar role which they have played in the march of European history. Specifically, they resisted Christianity; they struggled against the encroachments of alien cultures; they persisted in their loyalty to their religion. They have constituted in the past, at times quite unconsciously and unwillingly, a living minority protest against power religion and power politics. For this they were humiliated, suffering martyrdom willingly, often heroically.

LEO W. SCHWARTZ

Where Hope Lies, p. 7

282. Sociologists all agree that any group has difficulty in assimilating or making adjustments to individuals or to minority groups which the dominant group regards as strange or different.

. . . We must recognize that, although the elements which may differentiate individuals in one group from those in another are slight, those differences, especially if they are observable, such as differences in speech, difference in social contour, in gesticulation, in religious observances, in intellectual interests, serve to form more or less of a barrier between the members of one group and those of another. This is unreasonable, unjust, and yet it is a fact, and, if recognized as such, it can be dealt with. . . .

Any national person, with a normal amount of open-minded curiosity, who makes the effort or has the chance to become thoroughly familiar with the individuals of a group other than his own, soon discovers that the points of difference between the individuals in one group and those in another are insignificant compared with the points of similarity.

JAMES P. GIFFORD

Jewish Forum, January, 1941

283. The practices of the Orthodox Jewish faith, by emphasizing the different culture of the Jews, enhance anti-Semitism. The costumes of the Rabbis, the celebration of the chief feasts, especially the Sabbath, on other dates than those of the Christian culture; the prohibitions regarding diet; the facades of synagogues—all mark the Jew out. Even more unfavorable reaction is aroused by the use of Yiddish amongst many Orthodox Jews. All these things give rise through distortion to the idea of moral peculiarities in the Jew, which in the hands of anti-Semitic propagandists can be carried to the extreme expressed in the "Protocols of Zion."

J. F. BROWN

Jews in a Gentile World—The Problem of Anti-Semitism, p. 134

284. . . . Modern anti-Semitism differs from the anti-Judaism of former times only in that it is more self-conscious, more prog-

nostic, and more deliberate. At the bottom of the anti-Semitism of our own days, as at the bottom of anti-Judaism of the 13th century, are the fear of, and the hatred for the stranger. This is the primal cause of all anti-Semitism, the never-failing cause. . . . Anti-Semitism of modern times . . . a product of the spirit of national exclusiveness and of a reaction on the part of the conservative spirit against the tendencies set into motion by the Revolution, all the causes which have brought it about; or have served to maintain it, may be reduced to this one only: The Jews are not yet assimilated; that is to say, they have not yet given up their belief in their own nationality. By the practice of circumcision, by the observance of their special rules of prayer and their dietary regulations, they still continue to differentiate themselves from those around them; they persist in being Jews. . . . In the great process of evolution which leads every people to assimilate harmoniously the various elements which compose it, the Jews are the refractory element. . . .

BERNARD LAZARE

Anti-Semitism, Its History and Causes, p. 361, 362

285. That Jewish youth are ambitious, eager to take advantage of opportunity, avid for education, industrious, and inclined to make the most of their natural abilities, merely means that they exemplify the qualities which the American parent has traditionally urged his children to cultivate. That Jews are clannish and inclined to help other Jews is the natural result of generations in which, as a minority, they were forced to be on the defensive; and such a characteristic would be likely to decline as the need for it disappeared. Charges of a tendency to sharp practice in business relations or of inferiority in breeding and manners are untenable against a whole people.

WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON

Survey Graphic, February, 1939

286. Jewish prejudice may depend upon some such trivial factor as the irritation of a man who rushes out to get a suit of clothes pressed, only to find that his tailor is closed for the afternoon on account of a Jewish holiday which the gentile customer had forgotten. . . .

The particular item in orthodoxy which has exposed Jews to the greatest amount of ridicule is, unquestionably, the prohibition of pork.

HEYWOOD BROWN and GEORGE BRITT

Christians Only—A Study in Prejudice, p. 11, 314

G. MISCELLANEOUS

287.

JEWS IN AMERICA *

Faced with the unbelievable record of Nazi barbarities, leading members of the Jewish community in the United States—men who had previously looked to the future with complete confidence—have been shocked into fear. The apprehensiveness of American Jews has become one of the important influences in the social life of our time.

It is important to non-Jews as well as to Jews. Any nation which permits a minority to live in fear of persecution is a nation which invites disaster. Fearful minorities become suspicious minorities and suspicious minorities, their defensive reactions set on the hair trigger of anxiety, create the animosities they dread. The connection between Fascism and Jew-hatred is not accidental. Fascism, having nothing for sale but dictatorship and no selling point but the necessity for force, requires civil riots in order to advertise its goods and a civil triumph to complete the sale. Jew-hatred, as the Nazis have proved, does very well as an excuse for the first and the Jew as a victim for the second.

Consequently any man who loathes Fascism will fear anti-Semitism. And fearing anti-Semitism he will fear also the various conditions which encourage it—of which the apprehensiveness of the Jews themselves is one. Aware though he is of the European reasons for Jewish anxiety he will nevertheless be troubled to find his American-Jewish neighbor taking offense where no offense is intended. He will be troubled by the fact that certain Jews carry their race like an Irishman's fighting shillelagh while others resent, as though it were a deliberate insult, any reference to their blood, avoiding friends who speak of it, boycotting publications which publish it in print. He will wonder whether the growing apprehensiveness of American Jews has any justification in fact.

It may be stated authoritatively that there is no reason for anxiety so far as concerns the record to date of the organized forces of anti-Semitism. Attempts have been made to "expose" an anti-Semitic offensive of dangerous proportions. American organized anti-Semitism is a poor thing indeed.

Prejudice against Jews is at least as old as 1654 in North America and its negative evidences may be found in the histories of most of the clubs and colleges and residential districts of the country. By anti-Semitism is meant the deliberately incited, affirmative racial

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phobia which has produced the social and economic and sometimes physical pogroms of modern Germany just as it produced the murderous pogroms of Czarist Russia. Of that disease there is no American clinical record. Not because the history of America has been free of intolerance and persecution, but because the victims of intolerance and persecution were not, down to 1921, Semites. They were Quakers and Baptists in the seventeenth century, Irish Catholics and Negroes in the nineteenth. Jews suffered no persecution until three years after the War. Then, in the atmosphere of post-War reaction, with the Ku Klux Klan "riding" at the instigation of a pair of high-powered publicity panjandruns, Jews came in for a share of the Catholic opprobrium. But even so the persecutions were bloodless and brief. In the early twenties there were up to 2,500,000 "Aryan" citizens parading in sheets. Thirty journals including Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent* were in full bray. Serious-minded people were telling each other about the Jewish plot to take over the earth. But a few years later the New York *World's* exposure of the racket behind the Klan had had its effect, the Coolidge boom had given the paraders something else to think about, Henry Ford had apologized.

Anti-Semitism languished and still languishes. Although an estimated half million people may attend occasional anti-Semitic meetings, etc., there are probably no more than 15,000 loyal Jew-hating group members in the whole United States. The principal anti-Semitic organization is German in name and almost entirely German or German-American in membership. The second in point of fame is bankrupt. And the rest hardly supply material for a half column in the county papers.

Surveys of national opinion indicate either hostility to anti-Semitic dogmas or, what is worse from the agitator's point of view, complete indifference. And indifference, though Jews may think it callous, is the most effective prophylactic against the pestilence of hate: those who don't care either way will smash no windows. The result of a *Fortune* survey suggests that even in the Midwest an anti-Semitic propagandist would have up to 84 per cent of the population actively or passively against him.

The conclusion is inescapable that current American anti-Semitism is feeble. It is German in manufacture and was to be expected in the light of Hitler's career. But Germany is 4,000 miles away. It is not pleasant to have individuals like the Reverend Winrod of the Defenders of the Christian Faith or like Mr. Robert Edward Edmondson who manufactures hate in New York City inviting the country to attack your people. But neither is it important.

The Jewish "Race"

Are there any facts to support a charge that Jews have monopolized or are monopolizing economic opportunity in the United States? Before this question can be answered it is desirable to see precisely why it presents itself. What difference does it make even if Jews do run away with the system? Why shouldn't they monopolize any profession or branch of industry they are intelligent enough to capture? A man's job should not be determined by his parentage. To this proposition and to the related proposition that any discrimination against Jews in the professions or in industry is unjust there is no answer in logic or morality. But there is an historical answer, which is that a disproportionate Jewish participation in the economic life of a country has been found capable of arousing anti-Semitic feeling.

Why this should be so—why the success of the Jewish minority should be so particularly resented by other peoples—is a complicated question which is rendered more complicated by the fact that anthropologists are now generally agreed that the Jews are not a race in any scientific sense of the term. They were originally a cross between a long-headed, tallish, dark Mediterranean race and a short-headed, shortish, dark Alpine race. Those who remained in the Mediterranean basin, working around into the Spanish peninsula, were further modified by additional Mediterranean blood. Those who crossed through Syria into Eastern Europe and on into Germany received additions of Mongol, Alpine, and Nordic characteristics. The result is the distinction of the two types familiar in America—the Sephardim or Spanish Jews on the one hand and the Ashkenazim or German Jews on the other. The first, of whom Justice Cardozo and Bernard Baruch are examples, are characterized by thin features and spare bodies which often take on a typically Yankee look, while the second have quite frequently the heavy features, swarthy complexion, curly hair, and short body of common association. A third type is sometimes distinguished as representative of those Ashkenazim who have lived for centuries among the Slavs of Eastern Europe. This type is physically like the German Jew save that light hair and eyes are common and pug noses are more frequent than hooked.

The three groups, moreover, are distinct not only in appearance. They originally differed also in language, since the first spoke Spanish or Ladino (a fifteenth-century Spanish), the second German, and the third Yiddish (an alloy of Hebrew and German). And they maintain a certain aloofness among themselves.

What then is the explanation of anti-Jewish prejudice if the Jews are not a racial unit? The outstanding fact about the Jewish people is that they have preserved, though scattered among the nations of the earth, their national identity. They are unique among the peoples of the world not because they have bold noses—only a small percentage of Jews have the "Jewish" nose—but because they alone, of all peoples known to history, have retained in exile and over a period of thousands of years their distinction from the peoples among whom they live. The Jew is everywhere and everywhere the Jew is strange.

And therein is the key to the peculiar destiny of the Jews. The quality which makes them the scapegoats of Western history is the quality which makes them strangers in Western history—their devotion to their own cultural tradition under conditions of almost impossible hardship and the psychological traits which that devotion has established. Jews themselves, but not non-Jews, think of the Jewish religion as the chief cause of the Jew's universal strangeness, and the Christian religion as the chief cause of the prejudice from which he suffers. Non-Jews, on the other hand, cite such complaints as "aggressiveness, sharp business practices, clannishness, and lack of sensitivity to the feelings of the Gentile groups," the preservation among the Jews of "the 'haggling' habit which most of the Western world has outgrown," "the use of shoddy or poor materials," etc.

The truth is that neither these ancient chestnuts of racial prejudice nor the equally ancient references to religious history explain the Jew's position. They are merely rationalizations of the underlying feeling of foreignness—instances of difference made to stand for the difference itself. The true difference is cultural. All other immigrant peoples accept the culture of the country into which they come. The Jews for centuries have refused to accept it and are now, in many cases, unable to accept it when they would.

Members of the minority will tend to agglomerate. And this the Jews have notoriously done. Though they are very far, as we shall see, from monopolizing American industry, they have nevertheless made fair progress toward monopolizing those subdivisions of industry in which they have established themselves. Indeed the very fact of the existence of discriminatory quotas and barriers and the like in industry and education and the professions is proof, not only of Gentile injustice, but also of the Jewish tendency to inundate a field where other Jews have made entrance. It is a natural trait and an understandable trait but it serves to exaggerate the feeling of strangeness and hence the prejudice which that feeling inspires.

Seeing Jews clannishly crowding together in particular businesses and particular localities the non-Jew (who does not think of himself as acting clannishly) is more than ever impressed with the exotic character of this unusual people.

And being impressed with the Jews' difference from himself and hence their foreignness he is all too ready to resent their economic successes as a kind of outside invasion of *his* world. He is all too ready to agree that if the Jews have more than their "share," the Jews must be opposed. It is useless to argue that there is no reason on earth why a man's blood stream should qualify his economic achievements. The only truly convincing answer and the only real obstacle to anti-Semitic propaganda of this most dangerous sort is the appeal to fact.

Do Jews Monopolize Industry?

And the fact is this: that there is no basis whatever for the suggestion that Jews monopolize U. S. business and industry.

First of all and very definitely, they do not run banking. They play little or no part in the great commercial houses. Of the 420 listed directors of the nineteen members of the New York Clearing House in 1933 only thirty were Jews and about half of these were in the Commercial National Bank & Trust Co. and the Public National Bank & Trust. There were none in the Bank of New York & Trust Co., National City, Guaranty Trust, Central Hanover, First National, Chase, Bankers Trust, or New York Trust. Indeed there are practically no Jewish employees of any kind in the largest commercial banks—and this in spite of the fact that many of their customers are Jews. In the investment field, although there are of course Jewish houses, of which Kuhn, Loeb & Co., Speyer & Co., J. & W. Seligman & Co., Ladenburg, Thalmann & Co., and Lehman Bros. are the best known, they do not compare in power with the great houses owned by non-Jews. If these houses are ranked upon the amounts of foreign loans outstanding on March 1, 1935, J. P. Morgan with 19.87 per cent, National City Co. with 11.71, Dillon, Read with 11.44, Chase, Harris, Forbes with 8.45, Guaranty Co. with 6.68 per cent, Bancamerica-Blari with 6.18 per cent, and Lee, Higginson with 4.23 per cent all rank above the highest Jewish house, which is Kuhn, Loeb with 2.88 per cent. Ranked on the basis of domestic activity, Kuhn, Loeb, which has a long and honorable record of general activity in American business, would of course stand very near the top, but even in the domestic field non-Jewish interests are still far and away the most influential.

Furthermore these so-called Jewish houses are by no means exclusively Jewish. In Kuhn, Loeb Messrs. Elisha Walker, Bovenizer, Wiseman, and Knowlton, none of them Jews, are extremely active, while control of J. & W. Seligman is now shared with Frederick Strauss by Earle Bailie and Francis Randolph, a member of the proudest family in the Virginia Tidewater.

On the New York Stock Exchange, 252 of the 1375 members, or 18 per cent, are Jews, while fifty-five of the 637 firms listed by the Exchange directory are Jewish, twenty-four are half-Jewish, and thirty-nine have dominant Jewish influence.

The absence of Jews in the insurance business is noteworthy. In the insurance-agency field, however, about half the business is Jewish in New York. And the New York insurance-brokerage business is predominantly Jewish although the three or four nationwide brokerage houses with New York offices are non-Jewish. Outside New York Jewish representation follows the Jewish population proportion.

If the Jews have a subordinate place in finance, which they are often said to control, they have an even more inconspicuous place in heavy industry. The only outstanding Jews in that field are the Blocks, largely interested in Inland Steel, and Mr. Max Epstein, Chairman of the Board of General American Transportation Corp., which manufactures tank cars. Inland Steel is a successful company well liked and much respected in the trade but its share of the steel business is relatively small. The only exception to the rule that steel is not a Jewish industry is the scrap business. Scrap iron and steel is owned 90 per cent by Jews, being an outgrowth of the junk business, which at the end of the last century was in the hands of Russian Jews. It may be added in passing that practically the whole waste-products industry including non-ferrous scrap metal (a \$300,000,000 a year business in 1929), paper, cotton rag, wool rag, and rubber, is Jewish.

Something of the same situation exists in automobiles. There are only three Jews of any prominence in the executive end of manufacturing. There are only two Jews in positions of importance on the financial end. And there are few Jews in the new-car distributing business. No considerable number appears until the second-hand trade is reached.

The coal industry is almost entirely non-Jewish. It is doubtful whether the roster of the leading twenty-five companies would show a single Jew from miner up to the board of directors.

Rubber is another non-Jewish industry. Of the tire manufactur-

ers only Kelly-Springfield was ever Jewish and Kelly-Springfield is now in non-Jewish hands. There are Jewish concerns in rubberized fabric and to a lesser extent in the rubber-heel-and-shoe business but they are not dominant. Neither do they control petroleum. The chemical industry is in a comparable position. Neither in Du Pont, Allied Chemical & Dye, U. S. Industrial Alcohol, or Air Reduction is there a single Jew in a managerial position. There are two Jewish directors, Alfred A. Cook of Allied Chemical and Jules Bach of U. S. Industrial Alcohol. Otherwise Jews appear as researchers and laboratory men, in which positions several of them have made considerable reputations.

Shipping and transportation are equally non-Jewish. There are no Jews of any importance in railroading save Jacob Aronson, Vice-president in Charge of the Legal Department of the New York Central, and the only notable Jew in shipping Samuel Zemurray, managing director of United Fruit. There are no Jewish shipbuilders of any kind. In passenger bus transportation the Jewish interest is minuscule. In aviation the situation is about the same.

A vast continent of heavy industry and finance may therefore be staked out in which Jewish participation is incidental or non-existent.

To find Jewish participation in industry it is necessary to turn to the light industries. And even there it is necessary to turn from the manufacturing to the distributing end. There is an entire group of industries like wool, silk, cotton, and rayon weaving where the Jewish interest in production is small being 5 to 10 per cent in wool, 15 per cent in silk, 5 per cent in cotton, and 16 per cent in rayon-yarn production. But in these same industries the Jewish interest in distribution is large, half the wool sales agents and jobbers, three-quarters of the silk converters, and three-quarters of the cotton converters being Jews. In the underwear and dress-cutting trades using rayon 80 to 90 per cent are Jews. Only in the traditional Jewish bailiwick of the clothing industry can any claim for a Jewish monopoly be made. There, about 85 per cent of men's clothing and about 95 per cent of women's dresses and about 95 per cent of furs and almost the whole wearing-apparel business are in Jewish hands.

But the clothing business is the spectacular and outstanding exception to the statement that Jewish industrial interests are generally in the minority. Not even in the liquor business; which was always the prerogative of the Jew in Poland, nor in the tobacco business, in which many a rich Jew made his start, are Jewish interests dominant.

Jews in Retailing

With the perspective of a broad review such as this it becomes apparent that Jews are most frequently to be found in those reaches of industry where manufacturer and merchant meet. Consequently their predominance in retailing might be expected. It will not be found. The Jewish interest, though easily dominant in New York and in the northeastern cities in general, is not as great throughout the country as is commonly supposed. Department stores are largely Jewish-owned in New York, where Macy, Gimbel, Saks, Abraham & Straus, Bloomingdale, Hearn, all are Jewish—the chief non-Jewish concerns being Stern, Wanamaker, McCreery, Loeser, Lord & Taylor, and Best. But in Chicago the two leading stores are Marshall Field and Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co., one of Yankee origin and the other Scotch. The third in rank, Mandel Bros., is Jewish. And farther west the relative number of Jewish stores of importance further decreases. The department-store chains like May, Allied, Interstate, and Gimbel are Jewish but the Five and Ten, etc., chains like Woolworth and Kress are 95 per cent not. In the food-and-grocery field, where the greatest number of chains operate, 95 to 99 per cent including A & P are non-Jewish. Montgomery Ward in the mail-order field is non-Jewish, while Sears, Roebuck has a Jewish history (Julius Rosenwald) but active management of Sears, Roebuck now is in the hands of General Robert Wood. Drug store chains are about 90 per cent non-Jewish and apparel-store chains 90 per cent the other way. Jews are in a definite retailing minority over the country.

Do Jews Control Opinion?

By and large, then, the case for Jewish control of American industry falls pretty flat. But the little propagandists have another tune. They contend that, whatever the facts about industry, the Jews control opinion in America through their control of newspapers, publishing, radio, the theatre, and above all the movies. Even granted, in the face of the notorious inability of Jews to agree and the wide divergence of their interests, that such a thing as "Jewish opinion" could exist, it would still be difficult to prove that Jewish opinion directs U. S. opinion.

As to the newspapers the facts are strongly the other way round. Save for the prestige of the *New York Times*, which must rank on any basis of real distinction as the leading American newspaper, the interest of Jews is small. There are only four important Jewish

chains in the field. On the basis of daily circulation these four groups total respectively 489,871; 391,209; 289,126; and 198,610. These figures may be compared with the 5,500,000 daily of Hearst who is not a Jew, Patterson-McCormick's 2,332,156, and Scripps-Howard's 1,794,617.

The magazine situation is even more striking. Save for the *New Yorker*, in which the largest stockholder is Raoul Fleischman but the directing head Harold Ross, the only important Jewish general magazines are the *Esquire* group. And *Esquire* is closely related, through its male-fashion department, to the traditionally Jewish clothing business.

The Jewish participation in advertising may be put at about 1 to 3 per cent. Of the 200 large agencies six may be Jewish, the most important being Lord & Thomas, of which Albert D. Lasker is President.

So far as book publishing is concerned there were practically no Jews in the business prior to 1915 and today Viking, Simon & Schuster, Knopf, Covici, Friede, and Random House do not rank in size of annual list with such non-Jewish houses as Macmillan, Scribner's, Harpers, Houghton Mifflin, Appleton-Century, Doubleday, Doran, and the like.

In radio the Jewish interest is extremely important. Of the two great broadcasting chains one, Columbia, is under Jewish control. The other, N.B.C., though non-Jewish in management, is headed by David Sarnoff. Of the local stations the vast majority outside New York, however, are non-Jewish.

As to theatre, the theatre being a New York institution and New York being the largest Jewish city in the world and Jews being drawn to the amusement business and to the dramatic arts, a Jewish monopoly might be expected. In the days of Erlanger and the Shuberts it may have existed. Today, however, a count of active New York producers shows fifty-eight non-Jewish producers and fifty-six Jewish and an estimate of their relative importance shows them pretty much in balance.

The movies are the chief point of anti-Semitic reliance. And there a persuasive case may be made. Jews were the first exhibitors of movies because the early movie theatres could be operated with little capital: they were commonly empty stores with folding chairs for seats and a derelict piano. Large returns in such ventures tempted them into production. American movies, in consequence, were made for years as Marcus Loew, Adolph Zukor, Sam Goldwyn, Carl Laemmle, Louis Selznick, Louis B. Mayer, Jesse Lasky, and William

Fox thought they should be made. That certain of the Jewish producers were men whose influence upon the popular taste was unfortunate no one, least of all the cultivated Jew, will deny. But neither can the Jew-baiter deny that the greatest artist so far produced by the moving pictures is a man named Chaplin, whom all Jews are proud to claim.

Today Jewish control of the great moving-picture companies is less than monopolistic. Three of the eight principal companies are owned and controlled by Jews, two are probably owned and controlled by non-Jews, and in three management and ownership are divided. But though Jews do not monopolize the industry money-wise they do nevertheless exert pretty complete control over the production of pictures. A majority of directors, including such men as Frank Borzage, Howard Hawks, John Ford, W. S. Van Dyke, King Vidor, and Frank Capra, are non-Jews. But the directors are subordinate in authority to producers. Of eighty-five names engaged in production either as executives in production, producers, or associate producers (including independents) fifty-three are Jews. And the Jewish advantage holds in prestige as well as in numbers.

It is difficult on these figures to conclude that American organs and instruments of opinion are predominantly Jewish. Granted the great power of the movies in the influencing of modern society and the great influence of Jews in the movies, it still remains true that the Jewish interest in journalism and advertising is extraordinarily small and that journalism and advertising also have their persuasiveness.

Jews in the Professions

There remain for consideration the two related fields of politics and the professions—particularly law and medicine. The anti-Semitic contention is that the Jews have crowded out the rest of the population and are monopolizing all opportunities. Anti-Semites say a third to a half of the lawyers in New York City and at least a third of the doctors are Jews. One obvious rejoinder is that a third of the population of New York is also Jewish and that the percentage of Jewish lawyers and doctors in other cities with smaller Jewish populations is correspondingly smaller.

Another equally obvious reply is that 50 per cent of New York lawyers does not mean 50 per cent of New York's lawyer *power*. The most important office law business in America such as the law business incidental to banking, insurance, trust-company operation,

investment work, railroading, patents, admiralty, and large corporation matters, in general is in the hands of non-Jewish firms. Jewish legal activity will be found most commonly in litigation. In other words, Jews are largely to be found in those branches of law which do not interest non-Jewish lawyers or in those branches of law related to commercial activities like real estate and textiles where Jews are peculiarly active. It is for that reason that the importance of Jews in trial work is significant. Their presence in the courts means not only that Jews are able trial lawyers but also that non-Jewish lawyers tend to prefer the fat fees and regular hours and routine, solicitor-like labors of their offices to the active, combative, professional service of the law courts.

The medical situation is not unlike the legal. There is the same disparity between numbers of Jewish doctors and extent of Jewish medical influence. New York, for example, has numerous good Jewish doctors and a few very great Jewish doctors. But Jews do not occupy a position of power corresponding to their abilities or their numbers in the profession. Hospital medical boards and the like are apt to be controlled by non-Jewish doctors.

The chief difference between law and medicine is that the feeling between Jews and non-Jews is much stronger in the latter profession than in the former. The reason for that feeling is this: Of approximately 14,000 young men and women attempting annually to enter the seventy-six reputable U. S. medical schools 50 per cent are Jews, while of the 6,000 more or less who get in only 17 per cent are Jews. Non-Jewish doctors cite these figures as proof of the danger of Jewish aggressiveness and commercialism in the profession while Jewish doctors cite them as proof of discrimination. The truth seems to be that medicine is merely the most obvious point of collision between forces set in motion by the peculiar development of Jewish life in America. Given the desire of Jews to see their sons in the learned professions, and given their urbanization and hence their access to free college education, and given the assiduity of Jewish children, a clash was inevitable.

Are Jews Radical?

The Jewish advantage in the professions, then, is rather shadow than substance. And so, but much more so, is the Jewish importance in politics. Anti-Semites say "the New Deal is the Jew Deal." Second, "all Communists are Jews and all Jews are Communists." As to the New Deal, Jewish influence in Mr. Roosevelt's Washington is

minor. Attempts to make it seem important rest on misrepresentations and no amount of political whispering can change that fact. As to Communism, the truth is that of the 27,000 U. S. Communists,* few of the higher officers and only 3,500 to 4,000 of the members of the party are Jews.

The reason for the general impression of Jewish and Communist identity is simple. First of all, as we have had occasion to observe, the Jews are urban and largely concentrated in New York. The radical movement is also urban and largely centered in New York. Secondly, the Jewish members of the Communist Party are very commonly the intellectual and hence the articulate members of the party. And Marxism with its internationalism is eminently fitted to the emotional needs of a people without a fatherland. But most important, Jewish intellectuals are attracted to radicalism because the Jewish intellectual very understandably feels that the "system" is against him. Non-Jews wishing to become teachers and scientists and professional men are able to find more or less open opportunities for the exercise of their talents. Such opportunities are frequently closed to the Jew. In consequence the Jewish intellectual is frequently against the existing order. In consequence he is frequently a radical. And since he is able and idealistic and courageous and articulate he becomes the voice of radicalism.

But because the Jewish intellectual is a formidable member of the Communist Party it does not follow that "the revolution" in America is Jewish. There are two unanswerable reasons why it is not. One is that for every revolutionary Jew there are thousands of Jewish capitalists, shopkeepers, traders, who stand to lose everything in a revolution. The other reason is that the revolution in America is much more likely to come from the native-born Americans of Yankee and Nordic stock in the agricultural regions of the Midwest and Northwest than from the Americans of Jewish stock in New York.

Conclusion

Jews do not dominate the American scene. They do, however, monopolize certain minor provinces. What is remarkable about the Jews in America, in other words, is not their industrial power but their curious industrial distribution, their tendency to crowd together in particular squares of the checkerboard. The reason for their choice of particular squares into which to crowd must be found

* Estimate as of 1935.

in historical accident. Jews are in scrap iron because they were once in the junk business and they were once in the junk business because a penniless immigrant could make a start there on a shoestring. Were the four and a half millions of American Jews scattered more or less evenly over the whole industrial acreage, and were they as fond of rural communities and small towns as they are of great cities, their presence as Jews would hardly be noticed by other Americans. The whole point of the whole inquiry is that wherever the Jews may be, industrially or culturally or professionally or merely geographically, they are always present in numbers and they are almost always present as Jews.

And therein too lies the point of the so-called Jewish problem. Granted, that the Jews do not come within gunshot of running America and that their numbers are no longer rapidly increasing and that there is no color of reason for expecting successful anti-Semitism here. Granted, the ability of the American people to suffer Klan propaganda and the propaganda of the Nazis and still maintain common sense and basic decency. Granted, that there is strong reason therefore for believing that Fascism can be defeated in this country. Granted all this, it still remains true that the future of the Jew in America is puzzling. Can this universal stranger be absorbed in the country which has absorbed every other European stock? Can he live happily and in peace if he is not absorbed? The answers must be guesses. Upper-class Spanish and German Jews *have* been pretty well absorbed. There are, however, numerous Jews who look upon the loss of Jewish identity as a kind of social suicide. If those groups, Jewish and non-Jewish who wish the identity and distinction of the Jews preserved are able to carry their point then the only hope for the Jews in America is mutual toleration and respect. Since, however, toleration and mutual respect are also the only hope of all who wish to preserve or reestablish democratic institutions in this country the Jews in America will have numerous allies. The first condition of their success will be the quieting of Jewish apprehensiveness and the consequent elimination of the aggressive and occasionally provocative Jewish defensive measures which the country has recently and anxiously observed.

THE EDITORS of *Fortune*

288. What are the factors that make for anti-Judaism?

The main cause underlying anti-Judaism is the fact that the Jews are the "chosen people." . . . The idea of "election" was never

meant to be a source of special collective pride of self-righteousness. It was always coupled with the idea of unity of mankind. The idea of the election of Israel to the universality of God's plan of salvation of all mankind was inextricably woven together. Yet the form it assumed in the eyes of the world—that is, that the Jews think of themselves as a select group—created the wide and unbridgeable gulf which more than anything else is responsible for the phenomenon of anti-Judaism. For what to the Jew is a simple statement of fact is to the gentile, looking not from within but from without, an expression of arrogance and of contempt of other peoples.

Anti-Jewish feeling arises also from the fact that the Jews present a phenomenon which appears to be incomprehensible. The Jews, as we have seen, are incapable of being easily classified. They do not fit into any of the usual pigeonholes which we employ in our attempts at understanding. Looked at from without, the Jews appear to be a "chimeric" people, a people without real existence and real history. The impression has always prevailed that there is something strange, uncanny, and therefore incomprehensible connected with the existence of the Jews. . . . In a sense anti-Judaism is the expression of a fear of specters.

In these two factors we have the basic elements from which anti-Judaism derives. There are, of course, other contributing causes in great number and variety. Among them I consider two of particular importance, forming as it were, a second layer in the hierarchy of causes. The first is the immensely dialectical relationship between Judaism and Christianity which creates a tension of a particular kind. The picture of the Jews which the church Fathers painted has not created anti-Judaism, but it has greatly contributed to furthering it. The second factor is to be found in the abnormalities of the social-economic life of the Jews. The concentration in a few professions and in trade—a condition, it should not be forgotten, for which the Jews themselves are not responsible—exposes them to all sorts of accusations and enmities.

CARL MAYER

Jews in a Gentile World—The Problem of Anti-Semitism,
p. 318, 319, 320

289. An aspect of the Jewish religious viewpoint that must be singled out for special attention as a probable incitement to anti-Semitism is the inner conviction of Jews . . . that they are members of God's "chosen people."

The essence of the idea is that the Jews felt that they were chosen by God to be preachers of ethical monotheism throughout

the world, bearers of a great religious and social message to humanity, and, finally, the recipients of special favor. Suffering and persecution were actually a matter of congratulation, pride, and self-glorification, because they were to result eventually in historic vindication. This gave the Jew a sense of importance and a dignity which more than atoned for his social insecurity and insignificance.

All people like to be a "chosen people." It can readily be seen, therefore, why the assumption of the Jews that they are the "chosen people" should not be relished by others, especially when the other peoples are powerful majorities. This claim of special election was a perennial challenge to Gentile egotism; it has been interpreted as smugness and conceit on the part of Jews, both of which arouse resentment and antagonism.

J. O. HERTZLER

Jews in a Gentile World—The Problem of Anti-Semitism, p. 70

290. As regards the Jew, the problem is specifically complex. . . . The Jews are a people apart; theirs is a special, exclusively religious destiny. They are the chosen people of God and this accounts for the tragedy in their historical lot. God's chosen people who gave birth to the Messiah and then rejected him, cannot have a simple historical destiny like other people.

NICHOLAS A. BERDYAEV

The Commonweal, April 21, 1939

291. It is murder, foul murder, that stirs the anti-Semite. It is the foul need of worming the dead places in the human skin with the sight or thought of blood-spilling that stirs him against the Jew. It stirs him sometimes to oratory, sometimes only to the bird-brained chatter of the "exclusive" dinner tables; sometimes only to the cousinly deeds of calumny, robbery, and political action. Sometimes the anti-Semite is too civilized to kill, and murder degenerates into a spasm of distaste, a twitch of arrogance. Or he is too pious, too purring, too masked with love and learning to shed blood. The murder becomes books of theology, anthropology, and unpretty fiction. But it is always murder. It is always murder that bubbles under the mask of anti-Semitism.

BEN HECHT

A Guide for the Bedeviled, p. 149

292. I understand anti-Semitism. We Jews have maintained ourselves, through no fault of our own, as alien bodies among the various nations. In the ghetto we have acquired a number of anti-social peculiarities. Pressure from without has broken down our

character and it needs another pressure to restore it. Actually, anti-Semitism is the consequence of Jewish emancipation. But the general public, lacking an understanding of history, regards us, not as an historical product, not as victims of earlier, more cruel, and even more bigoted times than the present. They do not know that we are what we have been made to be, through torments, through the church making money-lending a dishonest trade for Christians, and through the rulers impressing us into the money traffic. We cling to money because onto money we were thrust. Moreover, we had to be ready always for flight, or to save our possessions from rapine. That is how our relation to money started.

THEODOR HERZL

Quoted by Leo W. Schwartz in *Memoirs of My People*, p. 464

293. The individual child is subject to race prejudice because he imitates his elders and because he is afraid. . . . His fears, accelerated by the essential competitiveness of our society were: 1. of rejection by the group; 2. of being different from his group; 3. of succumbing to his own impulses; 4. of economic insecurity; 5. of loss of dominance of his group.

ALICE V. KELIHER

Quoted in *P.M.*, March 7, 1944

294. . . . The main social roots of the problem of prejudice were:

Our failure to teach the child the privileges and responsibilities of a democratic heritage.

The failure of our churches to live up to the principles inherent in the religions they teach.

The failure of our elementary schools to teach children working intergroup relations.

FATHER GEORGE B. FORD

Quoted in *P.M.*, March 7, 1944

295. Let us try to break down the general phenomenon of anti-Semitism into its main constituent elements:

1. There is instinctive anti-alienism which has always set us against unassimilated and partly assimilated members of our society. Four-fifths of the Jews have been with us only since Kishineff, too many of them are only partly assimilated to the commanding externals of American life, language, dress and manners.

2. There is the age-old antipathy on the part of the farmer and manual worker to the "middle-man" and the Jews still group themselves heavily in that class.

3. There is the Fundamentalist hatred of the Jews on the basis of the over-simplified view that the Jews crucified the Christ, never amplified to a recognition that Jesus, the Christ, was a Jew.

4. The business and professional hatred of the Jew as a redoubtable competitor.

5. What one may call parlor anti-Semitism, boldly paraded by well-groomed young men of social status, who need to appear strong men to their women folk and know the passionate virtue of blood-curdling sentiments.

6. The unhappy denizens of overtame environments who were happy in spy-hunting during the war and desire nothing so much as conspiracies to track down now, "great Jewish conspiracies."

ALVIN JOHNSON

Survey Graphic, February, 1939

296. Concerning the ultimate cause, or rather causes of anti-Semitism—for obviously we are here dealing with a complex of causes—opinions are much divided. The Orthodox Jews regard the overthrow of the Jewish State and the exile of their Nation as a punishment for their sins and anti-Semitism as an inevitable result of the Dispersion, so long as the non-Jewish peoples are not penetrated by the knowledge, justice and love of God; that is, until the coming of the Messiah. . . . Many liberal Jews regard anti-Semitism as an outcome of atavistic habits of thought, doomed to disappear with increasing enlightenment and humanity; while others attribute it mainly to the fact that Jewish assimilation has not everywhere made such progress as to enable the non-Jewish world entirely to overcome its feeling that the Jews are aliens.

The Zionists as a rule regard anti-Semitism as a result of existing national or cultural disparities between the Jews and the traditional anti-Jewish bias of the non-Jewish world, which thus, according to the theory of racial anti-Semitism, consciously or unconsciously defends itself against alien influence; and above all as a result of the abnormal position of the Jews as a nation without a State. Only a Jewish land, where the Jews can lead a normal national life and which is capable of absorbing the "superfluous" Jews of Eastern and Central Europe will be able, in the opinion of the Zionists, to mitigate or destroy anti-Semitism. . . .

In contradistinction to Liberalism and Zionism, Socialism regards the Jewish question as of social nature. According to the Marxists view, anti-Semitism arises as a product of competitive jealousy and as a means adopted by those in power to exploit ancient prejudices

and popular ignorance, diverting the fury of the impoverished classes from their real enemies. It is sought to entice the workers away from the class war by giving them the illusion of a real national solidarity and at the same time stamping oppressive capitalism as "Jewish." . . . Thus, according to the Socialists, the hatred of Jews is a creation of the individual-capitalist order of society and a phenomenon destined to disappear with the substitution for this, of a socialist-collectivist system.

According to another view, the innermost cause of anti-Semitism is a sense of inferiority with regard to the Jewish competitor, who is hated for his cleverness and therefore slandered and abused. . . .

According to another view, whose best known representative is probably the convert from anti-Semitism, Count Kalergi . . . the ultimate cause of anti-Semitism is religious fanaticism. . . .

A typically modern view is that initiated and developed by F. Bernstein and Arnold Zweig, that the ultimate source of anti-Semitism is an instinctive feeling of hostility, which exists in embryo in every group of persons in relation to a group differently constituted. . . . They are swayed by what Zweig calls "the centrality-emotion," and feel in relation to the other group a "difference-emotion." The individual who is infected by hatred of another group, and considers himself badly treated by a member of that group, regards the latter's actions as typical of the group in question. . . .

At different times and in different classes of society one or another of the causes of anti-Semitism has dominated. . . . The motives alleged for it vary. Now the Jew is attacked as a dissenter, now as a business rival, now as an alien. Anti-Semitism clearly follows the same laws as hatred directed against other minorities. When the minority is relatively small and attracts relatively little attention, anti-Semitism is feeble. When primitive passions are quelled by humanity, reason, religion, philanthropy, they are kept under, but at great crises they burst into flame. The Jews' quality of a permanent minority renders anti-Semitism permanent. In reality, anti-Semitism is merely a special case of the hatred of foreigners. A brief survey of the history of anti-Semitism through the ages will prove this.

HUGO VALENTIN

Anti-Semitism Historically and Critically Examined, p. 9-13, 15, 18

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Book II

MARTYRDOM

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CHAPTER I
THE DOCUMENTS OF SHAME
A. CHAINS

1. JEWS UNDER SYRIAN RULE

297. And the King wrote unto his whole Kingdom, that all should be one people, and that everyone should give up his religious usages. . . . Furthermore, the king sent letters . . . to Jerusalem and to the cities of Judah (to the effect that) they should practice customs foreign to (the traditions of) the land, and that they should . . . profane the Sabbaths and feasts and pollute the sanctuary . . . that they should sacrifice swine and (other) unclean animals; and that they should leave their sons uncircumcized, and make themselves abominable by means of (practicing) everything that was profane and unclean; so that they might forget the law and change all the (traditional) ordinances . . . and be appointed overseers over all the people. . . . And many of the people joined themselves unto them, all those (namely) who had forsaken the Law. . . .

And on the 15th day of Kislev in the 145th year they set upon the altar an "abomination of desolation," . . . and the books of the Law which they found they rent in pieces, and burnt them in the fire. . . . And according to the decree, they put to death the women who had circumcized their children . . . and they put to death their (entire) families. . . . Nevertheless, many in Israel stood firm and determined in their hearts that they would not eat unclean things, and chose rather to die so that they might not be defiled with meats, thereby profaning the holy covenant; and they did die. . . .

FROM I MACCABEES, CHAP. 1

2. A LAW OF THEODOSIUS II (439 A.D.)

298. No Jew . . . shall obtain offices and dignities; to none shall the administration of city service be permitted; nor shall any one exercise the office of a defender of the city. Indeed we believe it sinful that the enemies of the heavenly majesty and of the Roman laws should become the executors of our laws . . . and that they, fortified by the authority of the acquired rank, should have the power

to judge or decide as they wish against Christians, yes, frequently over Bishops of our holy religion themselves, and thus, as it were, insult our faith.

Moreover, for the same reason, we forbid that any Synagogue shall rise as a new building. . . . From the CODEX THEODOSIANUS

Quoted by Jacob R. Marcus in *The Jew in the Medieval World*, p. 5

3. A LAW OF JUSTINIAN (531 A.D.)

299. . . . We therefore ordain that no heretic, nor even they that cherish the Jewish superstition, may offer testimony against Orthodox Christians who are engaged in litigation, whether one or the other of the parties is an Orthodox Christian.

THE JUSTINIAN CODE

Quoted by Jacob R. Marcus in *The Jew in the Medieval World*, p. 7

B. GHETTO WALLS

1. LATERAN COUNCIL (1179)

300. Jews and Saracens shall not be permitted to have Christian slaves in their homes, neither for the purpose of nursing their children, nor for domestic service, nor for any other purpose. Those who dare live in the homes of Jews or Saracens, shall be excommunicated.

We furthermore decree that the testimony of Christians against Jews shall be accepted in all cases, since the Jews employ their own witnesses against Christians and we decree that those who in this matter want to give Jews greater privileges than Christians shall be placed under anathema for the only fitting condition is that Jews be placed below Christians and that they be treated kindly by the latter solely because of humanitarian reasons.

Quoted by SOLOMON GRAYZEL
in *The Church and the Jews in the XIII Century*, p. 297

2. COUNCIL OF MONTPELLIER (1195)

301. . . . Jews or Saracens shall exercise no office over Christians, nor shall any one presume to give them preferment over Christians, nor shall they be permitted to have Christian men or women servants in their home. . . .

Quoted by SOLOMON GRAYZEL
in *The Church and the Jews in the XIII Century*, p. 299

3. THE CONVENTION OF PAMBERS (1212)

302. . . . No heretical Christian, even though already reconciled with the Church, shall be made a provost, a bailiff, or an assessor, or a witness in a law-suit, or a legal representative. And the above shall hold true of the Jews, except that a Jew may bring testimony against another Jew.

Quoted by SOLOMON GRAYZEL
in *The Church and the Jews in the XIII Century*, p. 305

4. COUNCIL OF THE PROVINCE OF BEZIERS (1246)

303. We desire and we command that during Holy Week, from the day of the Lord's supper until the day of Resurrection, none (Jews) shall leave his house unless by reason of necessity. Prelates shall then have them guarded from molestation by Christians, especially during the said week.

Quoted by SOLOMON GRAYZEL
in *The Church and the Jews in the XIII Century*, p. 333

5. FOURTH LATERAN COUNCIL (1215)

304. Since it would be altogether too absurd that a blasphemer of Christ should exercise authority over Christians, we, in this Chapter renew, because of the boldness of transgressors, what the Toledo Council has prudently decreed in this matter. We forbid that Jews be preferred for public offices since by pretext of some sort they manifest as much hostility to Christians as possible. If, moreover, anyone should thus turn over an office to them, after due warning, he shall be checked by a severe punishment, as is fit, by the provincial council which we command to meet every year. Indeed, the association of Christians with such a Jewish official in commercial and other matters shall not be allowed until whatever he has gotten from Christians through the office is transferred to the use of poor Christians as the diocesan bishop shall carefully direct. And he shall be dismissed in disgrace from the office which he has impiously assumed. . . .

Quoted by JACOB R. MARCUS
The Jew in the Medieval World, p. 139

6. ENCYCLICAL OF POPE BENEDICT XIV (1751)

305. *Pope Benedict XIV and the Jewish question. Encyclical Letter of Pope Benedict XIV to the Primate Archbishops and Bishops of Poland, concerning what is forbidden to Jews dwelling in the same towns and districts as Christians. (June 14, 1751)*

As for Us, in this matter as in all others, We follow the line of conduct adopted by Our Venerable Predecessors, the Roman Pontiffs. Alexander III forbade Christians, under severe penalties, to enter the service of Jews for any lengthy period or to become domestic servants in their households. "They ought not," he wrote, "to serve Jews for pay in permanent fashion." The same Pontiff explains the reason for this prohibition as follows: "Our ways of life and those of Jews are utterly different, and Jews will easily pervert the souls of simple folk to their superstition and unbelief, if such folk are living in continual and intimate converse with them." This quotation concerning the Jews will be found in the Decretal "*ad haec*." Innocent III, after having mentioned that Jews were being admitted by Christians into their cities, warned Christians that the mode and the conditions of admission should be such as to prevent the Jews from returning evil for good: "When they are thus admitted out of pity into familiar intercourse with Christians, they repay their hosts, as the proverb says, after the fashion of the rat hidden in the sack, or the snake in the bosom, or the burning brand in one's lap." The same Pontiff says it is fitting for Jews to serve Christians, but not for Christians to serve Jews, and adds: "The sons of the free-woman should not serve the sons of the bond-woman. On the contrary, the Jews, as servants rejected by that Saviour whose death they wickedly contrived, should recognize themselves, in fact and in deed, the servants of those whom the death of Christ has set free, even as it has rendered them bondmen." These words may be read in the Decretal, "*Etsi Judaeos*." In like manner, in another Decretal, "*Cum sit nimis*," under the same heading, "*De Judaeis et Saracenis*" (On Jews and Saracens) he forbids public positions to be bestowed on Jews: "We forbid the giving of public appointments to Jews because they profit by the opportunities thus afforded them to show themselves bitterly hostile to Christians." In his turn, Innocent IV wrote to Saint Louis, King of the French, who was thinking of expelling the Jews from his domains, approving the king's design, since the Jews did not observe the conditions laid down for them by the Apostolic See: "We, who long with all Our heart for the salvation of souls, grant you full authority by these present letters to banish the above-mentioned Jews, either in your own person or through the agency of others especially since, as We have been informed, they do not observe the regulations drawn up for them by this Holy See." This text can be found in Raynaldus, under the year of Christ 1253, No. 34. . . .

The kernel of the difficulty, however, lies in the fact that the

Synodal Decrees have either been forgotten or have not been carried out. It is incumbent upon you, therefore, Venerable Brethren, to restore them to their pristine vigour. The character of Your sacred office demands that you should zealously strive to have them enforced. It is meet and fitting, in this matter, to begin with the clergy, seeing that it is their duty to point out to others how to act rightly and to enlighten all men by their example. We are happy in the confidence that, by the mercy of God, the good example of the clergy will bring back the straying laity to the right road.

Quoted by THE REVEREND DENIS FAHEY
in *The Rulers of Russia*, p. 81-84

C. THE YELLOW BADGE

1. DECREES OF FOURTH LATERAN COUNCIL (1215)

306. In some provinces a difference of dress distinguishes the Jews or Saracens from the Christians, but in certain others such a confusion has grown up that they cannot be distinguished by any difference. . . . We decree that such Jews and Saracens of both sexes in every Christian province and at all times shall be marked off in the eyes of the public from other peoples through the character of their dress. . . .

Moreover, during the last three days before Easter, and especially on Good Friday, they shall not go forth in public at all, for the reason that some of them on these days, as we hear, do not blush to go forth better dressed and are not afraid to mock the Christians who maintain the memory of the most holy Passion by wearing signs of mourning.

This, however, we forbid most severely, that any one should presume at all to break forth in insult to the Redeemer. And since we ought not to ignore any insult to Him who blotted out our disgraceful deeds, we command that such impudent fellows be checked by the secular princes by imposing on them proper punishment so that they shall not at all presume to blaspheme Him who was crucified for us.

Quoted by JACOB R. MARCUS
in *The Jew in the Medieval World, 315-1791, A.D.*, p. 138, 139

2. THE COUNCIL OF OXFORD (1222)

307. . . . We forbid them to construct Synagogues in the future, but we enjoin that they shall be held bound to the Churches, in whose parishes they dwell, in respect to tithes and contributions.

Since in these parts such confusion had arisen between Christians and Jews that they are barely distinguishable and as a result it sometimes happens that Christians cohabit with Jewesses or vice versa, we decree . . . that every Jew, whether male or female, shall wear clearly exposed on the outer garments, on the chest, a linen patch of a different color from that of his garment, so that each patch shall measure two fingers in width and four in length; and that they shall be compelled, by ecclesiastical censure, to observe this regulation. They shall moreover not presume to enter Churches in the future. And, lest they have occasion to enter, we strictly forbid them to deposit and keep their property in churches. . . .

Quoted by SOLOMON GRAYZEL
in *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, p. 315

3. THE COUNCIL OF ARLES (1234)

308. . . . We decree that male Jews from the age of 13 and up, when outside their homes, except when on a journey, must wear upon the outer garment, upon the breast, a round badge of 3 or 4 fingers in width. Jewish women from the age of 12 and up, shall wear veils when outside their homes. . . .

Quoted by SOLOMON GRAYZEL
in *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, p. 327

4. SYNOD OF CHICHESTER (1246)

309. . . . The Jews, moreover, shall be compelled to observe without fail that which the general and special councils have decreed with regard to them, that they shall not erect new Synagogues and that they shall wear a badge prominently displayed as a sign of recognition. Moreover, we forbid any Christian, man or woman, to dwell with them.

Quoted by SOLOMON GRAYZEL
in *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, p. 331

D. EXILE

1. EDICT FOR THE EXPULSION OF THE JEWS FROM SPAIN: GRANADA (1492)

310. . . . Therefore, we, by and with the counsel and advice of some prelates and high noblemen of our kingdoms . . . have maturely deliberated thereon, resolve to order all said Jews and Jewesses to quit our kingdoms, and never to return or come back to

them, or any of them. Therefore, we command this our edict to be issued, . . . that by the end of the month of July, next, of the present year 1492, they deport from all our said kingdoms and dominions, with their sons, daughters, and they shall not presume to return to nor reside therein . . . either as residents, travelers, or in any other manner whatever, under pain . . . of death, and confiscation of all their property to our treasury. . . .

And we command and forbid any person . . . of our . . . Kingdom . . . that they do not presume publicly or secretly to receive, shelter, protect, or defend any Jew . . . after the said term of the end of July . . . under pain of losing all their property. . . .

And that the said Jews . . . during the said time, until the end of the said month of July, may be the better able to dispose of themselves, their property and estates, we hereby take and receive them under our security, protection and royal safeguard; and insure to them and their properties, that during the said period . . . they may travel in safety and may enter, sell, barter, and alienate all their moveable and unmoveable property and freely dispose thereof at their pleasure.

And that during the said time no harm, injury, or wrong whatever shall be done to their persons or properties. . . .

We likewise grant permission and authority to the said Jews . . . to export their wealth and property . . . from our . . . Kingdoms . . . provided they do not take away gold, silver, money or other articles prohibited by the laws of the Kingdoms, but in merchandise and goods that are not prohibited. . . .

Quoted by JULIUS HOEXTER and MOSES JUNG
Source Book of Jewish History and Literature, p. 107, 108

E. THE GHETTO AGAIN

1. THE LAW OF FREDERICK II, PRUSSIA, 1750

311. . . . We establish, regulate and order herewith and by virtue of this, that:—

vii. No protected Jew can stay away from home for more than a year without authorization; otherwise his place will be given to another.

viii. The Jews must pay their taxes quarterly and all the Jews are responsible as a body for the payment of the taxes.

xi. The Jews must not pursue any manual trade. . . .

xii. Jews are forbidden the smelting of gold and silver.

xxviii. . . . After investigation has been made and an order has been received from those in charge of the regal finances, Jews, in those places where they are tolerated, will be allowed to build on desolate and virgin areas. . . .

However, the Jews are nowhere allowed to buy and possess estates.

Quoted by JACOB R. MARCUS
The Jew in the Medieval World, p. 86, 88, 89, 90

2. THE MAY LAWS, MAY 3, 1882 (RUSSIA)

312. 1. As a temporary measure and until a general revision is made of the legal status of the Jews, they are forbidden to settle anew outside of towns and townlets (boroughs), an exception being made only in the case of existing Jewish agricultural colonies.

2. Until further orders, the execution of deeds of sale and mortgages in the names of Jews is forbidden, as well as the registration of Jews as lessees of real estate situated outside of town and townlets, and also the issuing to Jews of powers of stewardship or attorney to manage and dispose of such real property.

3. Jews are forbidden to transact business on Sundays and on the principal Christian festivals, the existing regulations concerning the closing on such festival days of places of business belonging to Christians to apply in future to Jews as well.

Quoted by LUCIEN WOLF
in *The Legal Sufferings of the Jews in Russia*, p. 84

F. NAZI GERMANY—THE BROWN TERROR

1. COLD POGROM: GERMAN ANTI-JEWISH LAWS

313.

Civil servants of non-Aryan descent must retire. . . . (*Civil Service Law*, April, 1933)

The work of Panel doctors (group medicine) of non-Aryan descent . . . must cease. (*Decree on National Health Insurance Service*, April, 1933)

Only a person of German or cognate blood may be a peasant. (*Homestead Law*, September, 1933)

Only such persons may be editors—who are . . . of Aryan descent and not married to a person of non-Aryan descent. (*Law regarding editors*, October, 1933)

Jews are not to be admitted to the law profession. (*Regulations regarding lawyers*, February, 1936)

Jews are not to be admitted as apothecaries. (*Apothecaries regulations*, April, 1937)

From January 1, 1939, Jews . . . are forbidden to own retail stores, mailorder houses or order departments and to carry on trade. If a Jew is employed in an enterprise in an executive position, he may be given notice to leave within six weeks. (*Field Marshal Goering's Decree to Eliminate Jews from Economic Life*, November, 1938)

Quoted in *We Americans*, p. 11, 12, 13

2. OUTCASTS

(a) *The Nuremberg Laws on Citizenship and Race* 314.

The Reich Citizenship Law of September 15, 1935

The Reichstag has adopted unanimously the following law which is herewith promulgated:

ARTICLE I.

1. A subject of the State is he who belongs to the protective union of the German Reich and who, therefore, has particular obligations towards the Reich.

ARTICLE II.

1. A citizen of the Reich is only that subject who is of German or kindred blood and who through his conduct, shows that he is both desirous and fit to serve faithfully the German people and the Reich. . . .

First Supplementary Decree of November 14, 1935

ARTICLE III.

Only citizens of the Reich, as bearers of full political rights, can exercise the right of voting in political affairs and can hold public office.

ARTICLE IV.

1. A Jew cannot be a citizen of the Reich. He cannot exercise the right to vote; he cannot occupy public office.

ARTICLE V.

1. A Jew is anyone who is descended from at least three grandparents who were racially full Jews. . . .

2. A Jew is also one who is descended from 2 full-Jewish grandparents if:

a. He belonged to the Jewish religious community at the time this law was issued or who joined the community later.

b. At the time the law was issued he was married to a person who was a Jew or was subsequently married to a Jew.

c. He is the offspring from a marriage with a Jew, in the sense of Sec. I which was contracted after the coming into effect of the Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor of September 15, 1935.

d. He is the offspring of an extra-marital relationship with a Jew, according to Sec. I and will be born out of wedlock after July 31, 1936.

Quoted by HENRI LICHTENBERGER
The Third Reich, p. 312-313

315.

The Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor
September 15, 1935

Imbued with the knowledge that the purity of the German blood is the necessary condition for the continued existence of the German people, and animated by the inflexible will to ensure the existence of the German nation for all future times, the Reichstag has unanimously adopted the following law. . . .

ARTICLE I.

1. Marriage between Jews and subjects of the German or kindred blood are forbidden. Marriages concluded despite this law are invalid, even if they are concluded abroad in order to circumvent this law.

ARTICLE II.

Extra-marital relations between Jews and subjects of German or kindred blood are forbidden.

ARTICLE III.

Jews may not employ in domestic service female subjects of German or kindred blood who are under the age of 45 years.

ARTICLE IV.

a. Jews are forbidden to display the Reich and national flag or to show the national colors.

b. The display of the Jewish colors, however, is permitted for them. . . .

ARTICLE V.

a. Whoever acts in violation of the prohibition of Art. 1, will be punished with penal servitude.

b. The man who acts in violation of article 2 will be punished with either imprisonment or penal servitude.

c. Whoever acts in violation of articles 3 or 4 will be punished with imprisonment up to one year and with a fine or with either of these penalties.

Quoted by HENRI LICHTENBERGER
The Third Reich, p. 312-315

(b) *Dismissal of Jewish Children from All German Schools,
November 15, 1938*

316.

1. Jews are forbidden to attend German schools—They are permitted to attend Jewish schools only. . . . All Jewish boys and girls still attending German schools are to be dismissed immediately.

Quoted by BERNARD DOV WEINRYB
Jewish Emancipation Under Attack, p. 55

(c) *Laws on Jewish Given Names, August, 1938*

317.

Insofar as Jews have other given names than those which they are permitted to bear . . . they are obligated to acquire an additional given name beginning with January 1, 1939, namely, Jewish male persons must add the given name Israel and Jewish female persons must add the given name Sara.

Quoted in *We Americans*, p. 13

(d) *Ghetto Laws, 1938*

318.

Sec. 1. Streets, squares, parks and buildings, from which the Jews are to be banned, are to be closed to Jewish subjects of the State and stateless Jews, both pedestrians and drivers.

Sec. 4. The ban on Jews in Berlin comprise the following districts:

(1) All theatres, cinema, cabarets, public concert and lecture halls, museums, amusement places, . . . all athletic fields including ice-skating rinks;

(2) All public and private bathing places.

(3) Wilhelmstrasse from Leipzigerstrasse up to Unter den Linden. . . .

Quoted by BERNARD DOV WEINRYB
Jewish Emancipation Under Attack, p. 56

CHAPTER II

DISCIPLES OF HATE

1. HAMAN

"Their Laws Are Different"

319. Then said Haman unto King Achashverosh, there is one people scattered yet separate among the nations in all the provinces of Thy Kingdom; and their laws are different from those of every people; while they do not execute the laws of the King; and it is no profit for the King to tolerate them.

If it be pleasing to the King, let a decree be written to destroy them; and 10,000 talents of silver will I weigh out into the hands of those who have the charge of the business, to bring the same into the Kings treasuries.

And the King drew his signet ring from off his hand, and gave it unto Haman, the son of Hammedatha the Agagite, the adversary of the Jews. . . .

And the letters were sent by the runners unto all the King's provinces to kill, and to exterminate all the Jews, from young to old, little ones and women, on one day, on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, which is the month of Adar, and to plunder their property as spoils.

A copy of the writing, to be given out as a law in every province, was published unto all the nations, that they might be ready against that day.

The Book of Esther, Chapter III

320. There is no anti-Semitism until the Jews, having abandoned their native land, settle as immigrants in foreign countries and come into contact with natives or older settlers, whose customs, race, and religion are different from those of the Hebrews.

Accordingly, the history of Haman and Mordechai may be taken as the beginning of anti-Semitism, and the anti-Semites have not failed to do so. This view is, perhaps, more correct. Though the historical reality of the book of Esther can scarcely be relied upon, still it is worthy of note that its author puts into the mouth of Haman some of the complaints which at a later period, are uttered by Tacitus and other Latin writers. "And Haman said unto the King

Ahasuerus: There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the people in all the provinces of thy Kingdom; and their laws are diverse from all people; neither keep they the Kings laws."

The pamphleteers of the Middle Ages, of the 16th and 17th Centuries, and of our own time, say nothing else; and if the history of Haman is apocryphal, which is highly probable, still it cannot be denied that the author of the Book of Esther has very ably brought out some of the causes, which for many centuries, exposed the Jews to the hatred of nations.

BERNARD LAZARE

Anti-Semitism, p. 27, 28

2. APION (CIRCA 25 B.C.-45 A.D.)

"The Jews Are Lepers"

321. From the third century B.C. Egypt became the anti-Jewish country "par excellence," much as Germany in our time. It was in particular the Egyptian anti-Semitic authors who later furnished weapons to the Greek and Roman Judaeophobes and influenced opinion in the Roman Empire in an anti-Jewish spirit. Some of the accusations, especially those derived from the Alexandrian anti-Semite Apion . . . were purely fantastic, alleging for instance, that the Jews were descended from Egyptians who had been expelled on account of leprosy, that they worshipped an ass, and so on. . . . Apion tells us that the Jews had a secret law commanding them annually to fatten and slaughter a Greek, to eat his entrails, and in so doing, to pledge themselves by oath to hate the Greeks. It was thus the lie of ritual murder, so often exploited since, which was originated by this author.

HUGO VALENTIN

Anti-Semitism Historically and Critically Examined, p. 22, 23

322. Apion more than 1800 years ago had traduced the Jews, and Josephus demolished his slanders in "as powerful a piece of controversial literature as is to be found. But . . . note the irony of the situation. But for Josephus' reply, Apion would long have been forgotten. . . ."

Rarely if ever, has an out-and-out anti-Semite possessed a pleasing personality. Apion was a grammarian of hate, but there is much evidence as to his unamiable characteristics. The emperor of Tiberius, who knew a braggart when he saw one, called Apion a world-drum, making the universe ring with his ostentatious garrulity. Aulus Gellius records his vanity; Pliny accuses him of falsehood and charlatanism. Josephus . . . describes him as a scurrilous mounte-

bank. . . . If the Jewish historian made Apion immortal, it was a deathless infamy that he secured for him. . . .

Most grimly amusing of all Apion's charges is his repetition of the ever-recurrent libel that the Jews were haters of their fellow-men. Never was there a more perfect illustration of Aesop's fable of the wolf and the lamb: the hated transferred into the haters. . . . It is one of the curiosities of fate that, apart from what Josephus has told of him, Apion is best remembered as the author or transmitter of the story of Androcles and the Lion. Apion was neither the first nor the last to have kindlier feeling for a wild beast than for a fellow-man.

(Said Josephus) "As for ourselves, we neither inhabit a maritime country, nor delight in commerce, nor in such intercourse with other men as arises from it; but the cities we dwell in are remote from the sea, and as we have a fruitful country to dwell in, we take pains in cultivating it. But our principal care of all is to educate our children well, and to observe the laws, and we think it to be the most necessary business of our whole life to keep that religion that has been handed down to us." This passage is famous both for its denial of the supposed natural bent of Jews to commerce and for its assertion that education is the principal purpose of Jewish behavior.

ISRAEL ABRAHAMAS

By-Paths in Hebraic Bookland, p. 32-35, 37

3. RINDFLEISCH (1300)

"Host Desecration"

323. A report was spread that the Jews of the little town of Rottingen (in Franconia) had desecrated a sacramental wafer and pounded it in a mortar, and blood was said to have flowed from it. A nobleman of the place, named Rindfleisch, took up the cause of the host alleged to have been desecrated, declared that he had received a mission from heaven to root out the accursed race of Jews and gathered a credulous, besotted mob around him to assist in his bloody intentions. He and his troops first of all consigned the Jews of Rottingen to the flames (20th April, 1298). From this place the rabble of slaughterers, under Rindfleisch's leadership, traveled from town to town . . . and destroyed all the Jews who fell into their hands, even those converted to Christianity. . . . This bloody persecution spread . . . to Austria, swept away more than 140 congregations and more than 100,000 Jews, and lasted nearly half a year.

HEINRICH GRAETZ

History of the Jews, Vol. IV, p. 35, 36

4. TORQUEMADA (1420-1498)

"The Inquisition"

324. In response to this demand, the Holy Office was established in Spain as a National Institution in 1478; its outstanding Chief Inquisitor, Thomas de Torquemada, was himself of Jewish descent, but proved a fanatical examiner and judge. The 19th tribunal met in 1480; the first Auto-da-Fe (or act of Faith) was held in February 1481, when six Jews were burned alive. The last execution on a charge of back-sliding to Judaism was held in 1745, 264 years later and the Inquisition itself was not officially abolished in Spain until the period of Napoleon in 1808.

During these bloody two and one-half centuries, at least 30,000 persons were executed for reverting to Judaism, another 15,000 who had fled were burned in effigy and their property confiscated, and fully 300,000 were "reconciled" to Mother Church with milder punishments. . . . The crime as charged was the secret practice of Judaism. Very slight evidence was enough to convict the accused before the Court, such matters as putting on clean linen on Saturday and avoiding the eating of pork being held conclusive. Any type of information would suffice to arrest a suspect—the evidence of a disgruntled servant, a business competitor or a paid spy. . . . The method of the Inquisition was both secret and autocratic. The suspect would simply disappear from his home. He was never told the charges or confronted with his accusers. Instead he was brought before the Dominicans who were at once his accusers and his judges, whose first object was to extract from him a confession that might help to save his soul and later to wring from him the names of other victims. The tortures were of the utmost refinement of cruelty.

LEE J. LEVINGER

Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 48-50

5. JOHANN ANDREAS EISENMENGER (1654-1704)

"Ritual Murder"

325. . . . Wagenseil wrote a pamphlet to expose the horrible falsehood of the charge that the Jews use the blood of Christians. . . . A Protestant, John Andres Eisenmenger, repeated the accusation, a thousand times branded as false, and furnished posterity with abundant material for charges against the Jews. . . . He compiled a venomous book in two volumes, the title of which was an invitation to Christians to massacre the Jews . . . : *Judaism Unmasked; or a*

Thorough and True Account of the Way in which the Stubborn Jews frightfully Blaspheme and dishonor the Holy Trinity, revile the Holy Mother of Christ, mockingly criticize the New Testament, the Evangelists, the Apostles, and the Christian Religion, and despise and curse to the Uttermost Extreme the whole of Christianity. . . . Eisenmenger represented most horrible falsehoods . . . as indisputable facts. He adduced a whole chapter of proofs showing that it was not lawful for Jews to save a Christian from danger to life, that the Rabbinical laws command the slaughter of Christians. . . . He repeated all the false stories of murders committed by Jews at the time of the Black Death—in short, all ever invented by saintly simplicity, priestly fraud, or excited fanaticism and imputed to Jews.

Samuel Oppenheim, a banker, one of the noblest of Jews . . . endeavored to prevent the circulation of Eisenmenger's book against the Jews . . . exerted himself to prevent the 2000 copies of Eisenmenger's work from seeing the light of day. He . . . could justly maintain that the publication of this book . . . would lead to the massacre of the Jews. An edict was therefore issued by the Emperor forbidding its dissemination. . . . All the copies, except a few . . . were . . . under lock and key. He entered into negotiations with Jews and proposed to destroy his work for 90,000 marks. As the Jews offered scarcely half that sum, the confiscation remained in force. . . . The 2000 copies of *Judaism Unmasked* remained at Frankfort under ban for forty years. . . . But . . . a second edition was brought out at Königsberg, where the imperial censorship had no power. For the moment it had no such effect as the one side had hoped and the other feared; but later on, when the rights of Jews as men and citizens were considered, it proved an armory for malicious or indolent opponents.

HEINRICH GRAETZ

History of the Jews, Vol V, p. 187-190, 193

6. AUGUST ROHLING (1839-1931)

"Talmudic Forgeries"

326. A more spectacular attack upon the Talmud was made by Dr. August Rohling, a professor of Hebrew Antiquities at Prague. His *The Talmud Jew* went through seventeen editions with a circulation of 200,000 copies in Austria alone. Most of his material was plagiarized from Eisenmenger, but in each new edition, Rohling repeated an offer of 1000 thaler "if Judah managed to get a verdict from the German Association of Orientalists that the quotations were fictitious and untrue." The challenge was taken up by Joseph S. Bloch, Rabbi at Feorisdorf, and later a member of the Austrian

Parliament, who offered 3000 thaler if Rohling could prove that he was able to read a single passage of the Talmud chosen at random by Rohling himself. Accusing Rohling of ignorance and perjury, Bloch dared him to bring a libel suit. Because of his professional standing, Rohling could not evade the issue and finally charged Bloch with libel before a Vienna magistrate.

The court was anxious to make a thorough study of the subject and requested the Rector of the University of Vienna . . . and the German Association of Orientalists to appoint two experts. It conceded to Rohling's request that both these experts be "full-blooded Christians." . . . After two and one-half years the report was ready. The trial was to start Nov. 18, 1885, but before the hearings began, Rohling, afraid of an exposure, withdrew all his charges. The Court sentenced him to pay the cost of the trial and, disgraced, he was retired from his university post.

BEN ZION BOSKER

Contemporary Jewish Record, July-August, 1939

7. HOUSTON STEWART CHAMBERLAIN (1855-1927)

"The Aryan Is Superior"

327. . . . Houston Stewart Chamberlain, born an Englishman, for the first twenty-five years of his life a virtual Frenchman; in the end a German. Natural scientist and philosopher, he exerted a decisive influence on two generations of German intellectuals. He was the intellectual adviser, indeed the mentor of Wilhelm II. . . . In 1897, Chamberlain published his chief work, *The Foundations of the 19th Century* which quickly made him world famous. . . . The Englishman placed the Germans above everyone else in the world and agreed with Wagner that they were destined "to ennoble mankind." . . . Chamberlain designated this highest type . . . "Aryan" . . . considers race relationship higher and more profound than blood relationship; it is the relationship of souls based on affinities, on similarity of character and manner of thought, despite variations in physical characteristics: "In this sense the Judo-European Aryans unquestionably constitute a family," and "the Germanic peoples belong to that group of most gifted people which we are accustomed to designate as "Aryans." The true Aryan type is not frequent in the so-called Aryan nations, and the task is to make it frequent and dominant: "Even if it were proved that in the past there never was an Aryan race, we want there to be one in the future." . . . "Physically and spiritually, the Aryans stand out among all men; hence they are by right the lords of the world."

KONRAD HEIDEN

Der Fuehrer: Hitler's Rise to Power, p. 232, 233, 234, 236, 237

328. Chamberlain's great work . . . *The Foundations of the 19th Century* . . . which marked an epoch in the history of racial anti-Semitism and of Pan Germanism, appeared in 1899 and was a brilliant success on account of the author's extraordinary gift of style and wide reading. . . . Admittedly the work is now regarded as worthless from a scientific point of view; it abounds in the grossest casuistries, blunders and contradictions. But the semblance of scientific truth which, in spite of his total deficiency as an anthropologist, this aesthetically gifted amateur lent to anti-Semitism and Pan-Germanism . . . helped to create and spread in Germany, were not affected by this. . . .

According to Chamberlain it was the tall, blond, longskulled Germans who have created everything of value, while the Jews, racially the result of "an incestuous crime against nature," are represented as base-minded, material, culturally sterile, miserable middlemen and cheap-jacks in the intellectual field. . . .

His thesis of the ethical and religious superiority of the Aryan and particularly the Germanic peoples over the Semitic is "proved" as a rule, by means of tendentiously chosen questions, usually from the sacred writings and heroic songs of ancient peoples, by extremely subjective interpretations of "portraits" preserved from the earliest times, many of which we know resemble the attempts of little children, or by the use of various disputable historical, philological or anthropological hypotheses, which are made to pass as facts if they suit his purpose. If a person is noble, he is an Aryan as a matter of course; if he is the reverse, he is a Semite; if he is a mixture of good and evil, the good in him is derived from Aryans and the evil from Semites. On occasion the author appeals to what is known as the layman's common sense against the conclusions of science. It is obvious that by such methods one can prove pretty nearly everything.

HUGO VALENTIN
Anti-Semitism Historically and Critically Examined, p. 143, 144, 145

8. ADOLF HITLER (1889-1945)

"I Fight the Lord's Work"

329. Adolf Hitler, irrational, contradictory, complex, is an unpredictable character; therein lies his power and his menace. To millions of honest Germans he is sublime, a figure of adoration; he fills them with love, fear and national ecstasy. To many other Germans he is meager and ridiculous—a charlatan, a lucky hysteric, and

a lying demagogue . . . born in Austria in 1889. He is not a German by birth. This was a highly important point inflaming his early nationalism. He developed the implacable patriotism of the frontiersman, the exile. Only an Austrian could take Germanism so seriously.

He went only to elementary school and by no stretch of generosity could he be called a person of genuine culture. . . . He reads almost nothing. The Treaty of Versailles was, probably, the most concrete single influence on his life; but it is doubtful if he ever read it in full. . . . He speaks no foreign language except a few words of French. . . .

His physical courage is doubtful. When his men were fired on in the Munich "Putsch" of 1923, he flung himself to the street with such violence that his shoulder was broken. . . .

Like that of all fanatics, his capacity for self-belief, his ability to delude himself, is enormous. . . . But his lies have been notorious. . . .

Hitler cares nothing for books, nothing for clothes, . . . very little for friends and nothing for food and drink. He neither smokes nor drinks, and he will not allow anyone to smoke near him. He is practically a vegetarian. . . .

Another peculiar point about Hitler is his passionate interest in astrology.

By a man's friends may ye know him. But Hitler has very few. . . .

He is totally uninterested in women from any personal sexual point of view. He thinks of them as housewives and mothers or potential mothers, to provide sons for the battlefield—other people's sons. . . .

Hitler was born and brought up a Roman Catholic. But he lost faith early and he attends no religious services of any kind. His Catholicism means nothing to him. . . .

One of Hitler's grudges against God is the fact that Jesus was a Jew. He can't forgive either Christians or Jews for this. . . .

Vividly in *Mein Kampf* Hitler tells the story of his first encounter with a Jew. He was a boy of seventeen, alone in Vienna, and he had never seen a Jew in his life. The Jew, a visitor from Poland or the Ukraine, in native costume, outraged the tender susceptibilities of the youthful Hitler.

"Can this creature be a Jew?" he asked himself. Then bursting on him, came a second question: "Can he possibly be a German?"

This early experience had a profound influence on him, forming the emotional base of his perfervid anti-Semitism. . . . Later he "rationalized" his fury on economic and political grounds. . . .

Long before he became Chancellor, Hitler would not allow himself to speak to a Jew even on the telephone. . . . An interesting point arises. Has Hitler, in maturity, actually ever been in the company of a Jew, even once talked to one? Possibly not. . . . Consider his single-mindedness, his intent fixity of purpose. His tactics may change; his strategy may change; his *aim* never. . . . His physical endurance is considerable. . . . Hitler's political sense is highly developed and acute. His calculations are shrewd and penetrating to the smallest detail. . . . He made good practical use of his anti-Semitism. . . . The Nazis surged into power in March 1933 with an immense series of electoral pledges. . . . One pledge they could redeem—beat the Jews.

Hitler bases most decisions on intuition.

Then there is oratory. This is probably the chief external explanation of Hitler's rise. He talked himself into power. The strange thing is that Hitler is a bad speaker. He screeches; his mannerisms are awkward. . . . He never knows when to stop. Goebbels is a far more subtle and accomplished orator. Yet Hitler, whose magnetism across the table is almost nil, can arouse an audience, especially a big audience, to frenzy. . . . He knows . . . all the tricks. . . .

Hitler never flinched from the use of terror . . . from the beginning he encouraged terror. . . .

Hitler's chief contribution to political theory was the Führer Prinzip (Leader principle). This means, briefly, authority from the top down, obedience from the bottom up, the reversal of the democratic theory of government. It was, as Heiden points out, a remarkably successful invention, since almost anybody could join the movement, no matter with what various aims, and yet feel spiritual cohesion through the personality of the leader. The Nazi movement gave wonderful play to diverse instincts and desires.

JOHN GUNTHER
Inside Europe, p. 1-17

330. . . . The outstanding fact was the growth of the National Socialist Party. This was one of the many little groups organized in 1920 with the idea of combatting the intolerable conditions of the time. The seventh man to join it was one Adolf Hitler, an Austrian by birth, who had fought in the German Army as a corporal, a fanatical racialist, a man who was to disclose rare powers of oratory and of organization. He developed this tiny group into a National

party; he organized the Storm Troopers and developed them into a formidable party army, always embroiled with the Communists or Socialists. In November, 1923, in league with General Ludendorff, he tried to rebel against the government but failed ignominiously and went to prison for a year as punishment.

During that year he wrote his autobiography and platform, a huge book entitled *Mein Kampf*, or in English, *My Battle*. Released from prison, he came out a popular hero, and his party grew from year to year. By 1930 it cast 6,400,000 votes and took 107 seats in the Reichstag. Repeatedly, Hitler was offered a seat in the Cabinet but steadily refused unless he was given full power. Finally, on January 30, 1933, President Paul von Hindenburg appointed the Austrian agitator his chancellor. . . .

On September 15, 1935, the Reichstag at the bidding of Chancellor Hitler passed various restrictive laws against the Jews. . . . The most important deprived the Jews of German citizenship, which had been worth so little to them under Nazi rule, and made them instead subjects or "guests" of the Teutonic state. Another forbade intermarriage between Aryans and Jews or part-Jews and declared such marriages void if they were contracted outside Germany. Heavy penalties were assessed against such marriages, as well as against illicit relations between Aryans and non-Aryans. Finally, the old Visigothic provision was revived in modern form, by forbidding Jews to employ as household servants Aryan women less than forty-five years of age, either to protect those of more tender years from Jewish influence, or perhaps merely to add annoyance and insult to the serious injury of the other regulations.

LEE J. LEVINGER

Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 110, 111, 124, 125

CHAPTER III

WELLS OF POISON

A. FORGERIES

1. MISUSE OF RABBINIC TEXTS: TALMUDIC FORGERIES

331. The Talmud is a record of opinions and discussions on all phases of law and life culled from the utterances of those outstanding Jewish teachers who functioned in the academies of Palestine and Babylonia during the first five centuries of the common era. . . . Throughout the Middle Ages when European learning was generally at a low ebb and whatever of it that existed was carried on under ecclesiastical auspices, from which Jews were excluded, the Talmud was the principal subject of Jewish cultural activity. Its metaphors and maxims, its approach to life and its modes of reasoning, all became part and parcel of the cultural equipment of the average Jew. But the Talmud as such was never an official code guiding Jewish religious or social behavior. Indeed, Jewish tradition does not recognize any official authoritative codes or catechisms outside of the Bible. Authoritative statements of Jewish behavior were to be formulated by the scholars of every age who were to reckon with traditional precedents as well as prevailing conditions in reaching their decisions. . . .

Father A. H. Dirksen, writing in the *Ecclesiastical Review* (Jan., 1939, p. 12), has put it very succinctly: "The Talmud in its entirety . . . is no more binding on Jewry than the varied and unacceptable opinions which may be found scattered throughout the body of early Christian literature are for believing Christians."

Refutations of the libels against the Talmud have been stated explicitly enough by Christians as well as Jewish scholars. . . . Anyone who compared the alleged statements of the Talmud with the actual talmudic texts will notice at once the lies and the falsifications. . . . The latest layer of Talmudic literature was composed at the close of the fifth century and yet most of these "authorities" quote "Talmudic" references from the *Shulhan Aruk*, a sixteenth century work, the *Yalkut Hadash*, a seventeenth century work, and the *Midrash Talpiot* of the early eighteenth century! Father Coughlin's *Social Justice*, on the other hand, speaks of the Talmud as though it had existed in the "days of Moses". . .

Some of the most fantastic charges are made without references

to corroborating evidence. . . . The Talmud baiters occasionally support their assertions with elaborate quotations. It is not always easy to trace these quotations to their sources. The titles of the works are often so grossly misspelled that it is difficult to recognize them. . . . Frequently, the works quoted are well known but no volume, page, chapter or verse is indicated, such as a general reference to "Szaoleth-Utszabot. . . ." "Szaoleth-Utszabot simply means "response" and it applies to the correspondence of the Rabbis on religious questions. The New York Public Library lists in its catalog hundreds of such volumes of response. . . .

It is clear from the character of these forgeries, their scope, and their link to German sources that at least the inspiration for their present wide-spread distribution is purely political. . . . It is part of a campaign to rationalize the barbarism unleashed by the Nazis against Jewry. Walter Fasolt, a current Nazi commentator on the Talmud, unblushingly admits this in the introduction to his recent *The Basic Principles of the Talmud* (Breslau, 1935). "In issuing this work our purpose is purely political. As a political tract it is necessarily one-sided. It therefore deals with Talmudic law only at the point where it may prove helpful in illuminating the attitude of Germany to Jewry." . . . It is interesting to note that most of these Talmud baiters are also the violent enemies of Christianity. Rohling, one of the pillars of the "science" of Talmud falsification, was a fanatical anti-Protestant. . . . The more recent Talmud baiters show a particular bitterness towards the Catholic Church. . . .

BEN ZION BOSKER

Contemporary Jewish Record, July-August, 1939

332. The fall of the Jewish kingdom, the destruction of the Temple, the dispersion of the people and the resulting danger that the Jews, who considered themselves called upon to uphold the Torah (the doctrine), might flounder in the sea of nations, led to a supreme effort to save the life of the threatened Jewish nation behind the protective ramparts of the ceremonial law. This was the beginning of the rabbinical-Talmudic epoch with the isolation and exclusivism that were forced on it by circumstance. Its chief literary product is the Babylonian Talmud, which was compiled approximately between 450 B.C. and A.D. 500. It is a voluminous work, 6000 folio pages. . . . The Talmud is not a book, but a whole literature, including the most varied, often contradictory, opinions on a great variety of subjects; an echo of nearly a thousand years' discussions in the schools on things great and small, lofty and lowly,

expressing "the most varied shades of piety and ethical thinking, casual dialogues of a general nature, private utterances of teachers totally devoid of any binding implication." . . . The Talmud has been aptly compared with a huge uncollated collection of minutes of discussions. It was only in the sixteenth century that a writer, Joseph Karo, succeeded in producing a ritual codex compendium, the "Shulchan Aruch," which with a commentary, was accepted as a standard by traditionalist Jewry. . . .

There are no secret Jewish scriptures or doctrines. Professor Strack . . . one of the greatest Christian Talmudic scholars of the present day, states in his *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch* (1921): "Judaism does not possess any written work or oral traditions whatsoever that are inaccessible to Christians. The Jews are at no pains to conceal anything from the Christians, nor could they do so. For the correctness of this statement I pledge my honour as a man and a scholar." Nor is the Talmud a book with seven seals. He who cannot study it in the original tongue can do so in translation, and the curious has at his disposal an abundant literature by Christian and Jewish Talmud specialists. . . .

HUGO VALENTIN

Anti-Semitism Historically and Critically Examined, p. 269, 277

333. Because of the high character of ancient Judaism only the most extreme calumniators of the Jew have dared to impugn it. They show no such reticence in regard to the Talmud, that huge collection of law, ceremonial, and general information that was the product of the Diaspora. The Talmud is an enormous unclassified work, occupying twelve closely printed volumes of about a thousand pages each, in the German translation of Lazarus Goldschmidt. It was the fruit of more than twenty-five hundred separate authors and was accumulated gradually over a period of nearly a thousand years until it was finally completed in its classical Babylonia form in about 500 A.D. Hence it contains the most diverse, and often contradictory, opinions on a great variety of subjects and includes "the most varied shades of piety and ethical thinking, casual dialogues of a general nature, private utterances of teachers totally devoid of any binding implication." It is an encyclopedia of an age and of the life of a people in which law is mixed with moral exhortation, legend, science, history, and superstition—a collection intended, not as a definite code, but as material for study and edification.

As might be expected, such an unwieldy collection provides a handy arsenal for the critic of Judaism, especially since the lack of vowel signs in the original opens up the possibility of varied inter-

pretations. Since it was the product of the Dispersion, and since its avowed purpose was to preserve the ancient religion by emphasizing its exclusive features, it is natural that certain sections of it should provide material for those who would picture the Jews as enemies of the human race. Because of certain objectionable passages it was condemned by the Inquisition in 1242, and twenty-four wagons piled with copies were publicly burned in Paris.

In modern times the Talmud has been more viciously attacked by the enemies of the Jew. From the publication of Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judentum* (1700) slanderous stories have been circulated to the effect that the Talmud teaches that it is virtue for a Jew to kill a Christian, that all crimes against Gentiles are permissible, and that the Israelites are not bound by the moral law in dealing with those outside their faith. Despite the fact that these extravagances have been disproved frequently by Christian scholars, the erroneous impression still persists that the Talmud inculcates hostility to non-Jews. Although a few isolated passages may be cited to give an appearance of truth to this assertion—which is easy to explain when we remember the sufferings of the Jewish people during the period when the Talmud was produced—the great bulk of this monumental work is true to the older Hebraic concept that justice must be done to all men, irrespective of race, or religion. When the famous Rabbi Hillel was asked by a pagan for a synopsis of the Law, he answered: "Do not unto thy neighbor that which is hateful to thyself. That is the whole doctrine; all else is explanation." A thirteenth-century commentator, Rabbi Menachem Meiri, sums up the teaching of the Talmud in regard to the Gentiles thus: "Any member of a people who leads a moral and religious life and worships God in some way ought, even if his faith differs from ours, to be regarded in every respect as an Israelite." Certainly any fair analysis of this collection of Jewish lore will reveal that it demands kindness and justice to all men as the first obligation of religion.

Hence both Christianity and Judaism preach brotherly love and understanding, and theoretically at least, no basis is found in either creed for the anomaly of religious hatred. If individual Christians or Jews give vent to these sentiments, they do so despite the precise teaching of their religion to the contrary. Hence it is hard to see how religious differences could be the prime cause of anti-Semitism, even though it must be admitted that such considerations have played some part in the long history of this phenomenon.

FATHER JOSEPH N. MOODY
Why Are Jews Persecuted?, p. 36-39

334. The Talmud is alleged to be anti-Christian in spirit and to justify grossly unethical conduct. The Talmud means primarily teaching, consisting of a vast compilation of the Oral Law of the Jews, with rabbinical commentaries, and is the accepted authority for Orthodox Jews. It may be definitely stated that the Christian scholars who have carefully studied the Talmud find it generally not to be anti-Christian, and indeed, among some writers, there is noted an appreciation of Christianity. The morality taught in the Talmud is declared to be of the same character as inculcated in the Old Testament.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
Information Service, June 10, 1939

2. PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION

335. The Protocols of Zion were first published in Russia early in the twentieth century. Most of the numerous later editions of this work have been taken from the second edition of a book by a religious mystic, Sergei Nilus. It is entitled . . . *The Great in the Little and Anti-Christ as a Near Political Possibility*. The second edition, which the author declared was the first to include the Protocols, was published . . . in 1905.

Another version of the Protocols was given by G. Butmi in the third edition of his book, *Enemies of the Human Race*, published at St. Petersburg in 1906. . . .

According to Nilus, the Protocols embody the secret plans of the leaders of the Jews, called Wise Men or Elders of Zion, to enslave the whole world. These plans, he states, were read in 1897 before a secret conclave of the leaders of Zion. The plans were stolen from the Jews and in time were taken to Russia where Nilus translated and published them. . . .

One of the first facts that strikes the historian reading this momentous document is that neither of its sponsors, Nilus or Butmi, presents evidence as to the identity of the Elders of Zion who were alleged to have heard these words, or of him who uttered them. No facsimiles or photostats are submitted, no signatures are offered for consideration. Indeed, both Nilus and Butmi say that what they used was not the original, but a copy made by someone else and transmitted by devious ways to them. Why the secret agents who, it is alleged, by stealth obtained access to the Protocols, were content with making a copy of this document, when the original would have been far more convincing, and when it could have been stolen

with far less labor than that involved in copying so many pages, the authors do not tell us. . . .

It should be added that those who uphold the validity of the Protocols often base their case on the grounds of "plausibility." They state . . . that the Protocols agree with what they believe the Jewish character to be, or, in other instances, that the present world situation resembles the one that the Elders allegedly planned and prophesied. For the historian who strives at objectivity, however, this is unconvincing; it does not demonstrate the existence of a Jewish plot to seize the world at any time since 1897 (or before, for that matter). And even if, after Nilus wrote these lines, there had been an attempt on the part of Jews to seize dominion, that would not prove that the plot had been prepared long in advance, as the Protocols declare. All the rules of historical evidence deny the validity of this type of reasoning.

Another question not satisfactorily answered by those who published the Protocols is how the manuscript reached their hands. Not that there is a lack of explanations; there is, in fact, an overabundance of them. . . . In one place the author asserts that the Protocols were stolen from a leading Mason after a secret Masonic meeting, and in the other he declares that they were abstracted from the vaults of the Zionist organization. Which of these stories is to be believed?

When a careful analysis of the content of the Protocols is made, however, doubtful passages are found which arouse suspicion that the Protocols were not read at the Zionist Congress of 1897 at which Theodor Herzl officiated. For example, in the 10th Protocol there is a passage that apparently contains a reference to an event that occurred after the Zionist Congress of 1897. . . .

To those familiar with Jewish habits of thought a very striking thing about the Protocols is that only once is mention made of the Bible, the most weighty influence on Jewish thought. This in itself is enough to arouse suspicion. Furthermore, while the Protocols do contain one quotation from the Old Testament, it is made in a form that a Jew would probably not use. At the Basle Congress the language used was largely German, yet in the Protocols the biblical quotation, "Through me kings reign" is in Latin, and as Father Charles points out was taken from the Vulgate, the Latin translation of the Bible used by the Catholic Church. Would Jews so zealous for their national culture use a quotation from a Latin edition of the Old Testament? Certainly they would be more apt to use a Hebrew edition than the Bible of the Catholic Church. . . .

There are other sections that arouse doubt concerning the in-

tegrity and knowledge of the real authors of the Protocols. The first contains these words, "In ancient times we were the first to cry among the people the words, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. . . ." This slogan did not, however, originate in antiquity, but was coined by . . . a Frenchman. The third Protocol contains a sentence saying, "Remember the French Revolution to which we gave the name 'Great'; the secrets of its preparation are well known to us, for it is wholly the work of our hands." No intelligent and sincere Jew would have made this claim, for he would know that at the time of the French Revolution the handful of Jews in France did not enjoy political rights, and had little, or no part in the Revolution.

In 1921, Philip P. Graves, Constantinople correspondent of the *Times* of London, was presented with a book which the donor, a Russian landowner, had bought from a former officer of the . . . political police of the defunct Russian Empire. Mr. Graves was at once struck by the similarity of numerous passages in the book and the Protocols of Zion, which had just created a sensation in Great Britain and France. . . . He became convinced that the little volume, which was without its title page, was the basis for the Protocols, which he now believed to be a flagrant plagiarism. On his return to London he was able to discover the title of the book and the author's name. It turned out to be, *Dialogue in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu; or the Politics of Machiavelli in the 19th Century*. The author . . . was Maurice Joly, a lawyer of Paris and the book was published in Brussels in 1865.

The *Dialogue* . . . consists of imaginary conversations or dialogues in the afterworld between the respective authors of *The Prince* and *The Spirit of the Laws*, with Machiavelli explaining his up-to-date political theories. . . . As Joly later declared in a pamphlet, his motive was to discredit the Second Empire of Napoleon III. In Machiavelli it is easy to discern Napoleon, while from the mouth of Montesquieu, speak the liberals and the democrats who were scandalized by the cynical opportunism of Napoleon. . . .

When one compares the *Dialogues* of Joly with the Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion as published by Nilus, the similarities between them readily become apparent. . . . In passage after passage the phrasing of the Protocols and the Dialogues is almost identical. . . .

The evidence gives little reason to believe that the Protocols were written by Jewish leaders. On the contrary, it is clear that the Protocols were largely plagiarized from Joly's *Dialogues*. . . . Moreover, at the Bern trial a document sent from Moscow was presented, in which some of the censors of the Imperial Government recognized

that the Protocols were not authentic. Consequently, the court declared that the Protocols were largely a plagiarism of Joly's *Dialogue* and condemned them as improper literature;

The decision appears sound. That it is supported by certain authoritative churchmen is indicated by the statements of the two well-known theologians. The first was written in 1922 by A. Kartashev. He said: "It affords me, as an Orthodox theologian, a certain moral satisfaction that the Russian bishops . . . from the very beginning were unfavorable toward the publication of Nilus." The second opinion is that of Father Charles of the Society of Jesus, who terms the Protocols "an evident forgery, the work of an ignorant and clumsy policeman . . ." and declares: "The proof has been given that these Protocols are a forgery, clumsily plagiarized from the satiric work of Maurice Joly, and composed with the aim of rendering the Jews odious by exciting against them the unreflecting, blind passion of the mob."

To these comments it is fitting to add the remarks made by Judge Meyer of the Police Court of Bern, while summing up the case. He said: "I hope that one day there will come a time when no one will any longer comprehend how in the year 1935 almost a dozen fully sensible and reasonable men could for fourteen days torment their brains before a court of Bern over the authenticity or the lack of authenticity of these so-called Protocols, these "Protocols" that, for all the harm that they have already caused and may yet cause, are not anything but ridiculous nonsense."

JOHN S. CURTISS

Contemporary Jewish Record, February, 1942

336. The Protocols were first publicized as a supplementary chapter to an extended edition (1905) of a Russian pamphlet by Serge Nilus, originally printed in 1901 or 1903, with the title *The Great in the Little. Near is the coming of anti-Christ and the Kingdom of the Devil on Earth*. . . . To these protocols Nilus has added a number of explanations. We are told that the protocols are signed by representatives of Zion of the thirty-third . . . degree, and are extracts from a complete book of protocols from the First Zionist Congress, which was held at Basle in 1897, but that the plan itself for the Jewish conquest of the world was conceived as early as 929 B.C., that is nearly 3000 years ago, by Solomon and other wise men of Zion. These men had determined to conquer the world. . . . He imputes to Judaism the most infamous opinions and "proves" his assertions by referring to the "Talmudic" books Jihal 67, Sauh 58, Hopaim 14, and so on. These books have never existed and their

names are not Hebrew. But the careful references, together with the fictitious names, are naturally designed to give a semblance of authenticity to the anti-Semitic falsehoods. . . .

One need not be a specialist in historical research or have any extensive knowledge of matters Jewish to see through the fraudulent nature of the Protocols after a cursory glance. To begin with, the expression "Wise Men of Zion" makes one more than suspicious. For this is unknown in Jewish linguistic usage. It has evidently been coined in order that its mysterious sound may have a suggestive effect on ignorant, anti-Jewish masses. . . . The expression "per me reges regnant" (through me the kings reign) . . . is a quotation from the Vulgate, the translation of the Church of Rome. Why should a Jew make use of it? He quotes in his mother-tongue or in Hebrew. There are allusions to the presidential election of Loubet, who was implicated in the Panama scandals, and to Leon Bourgeois' educational reforms, which are much later in date than 1897. . . . Anyone who has the slightest knowledge of Jewish religion must be aware that the methods recommended by the "Wise Men of Zion," as well as the whole idea of a political Jewish world dominion, are entirely foreign to Jewish ways of thinking.

HUGO VALENTIN

Anti-Semitism Historically and Critically Examined, p. 166 ff

337. The so-called Protocols of the Elders of Zion are among the most politically significant and symptomatically interesting documents in the history of anti-Semitism. They are significant in that they were the chief means employed after the World War to promote savage hatred of the Jews in Eastern Europe and Germany. . . . They are symptomatically interesting from the fact that this gross fabrication in spite of its absurdities was taken seriously in such wide circles. . . . The very fact that people could believe for a moment in the fabled existence of a powerful secret world-conspiracy, which had for its object the destruction of the Christian States and the foundation of a Jewish world-monarchy on their ruins, shows the truth of Shaw's saying that our age is just as credulous as the Middle Ages, though its credulity finds other objects. Everyone who knows anything of Jewish history during the last few centuries must be aware that the Jewish people is a weak and divided people that can be subjected to almost any treatment with impunity, and that the talk of its control of the money market and the press is nonsense.

HUGO VALENTIN

Anti-Semitism Historically and Critically Examined, p. 165, 166

338. Since anti-Semitic groups lack a clear-cut unified philosophy, it is necessary to use a "piecing together" technique in order to present the ideas embodied in their propaganda as a systemized whole. Fundamental is the idea of Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world. "Conspiracy" is the key word. Merely to assert that the number of Jewish lawyers in Chicago, or of Jewish civil servants in Washington is far in excess of the proportion of Jews to the total population does not imply "conspiracy"; but to interpret such facts as part of a Machiavellian plan to gain control of the United States is definitely an expression of the idea. The original source of this concept is that notorious forgery, "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" . . . first widely circulated by the Russian secret police during the pogroms that followed the Revolution of 1905. This pamphlet, bruited about as a set of agreements drawn up by leading Jews at a secret meeting held about sixty years ago, contains a detailed plan whereby Jews will undermine and destroy Gentile civilization in order to achieve mastery of the world. Although new pamphlets revealing certain contemporaneous events as part of the Jewish conspiracy are continually published, the Protocols have remained the basic required reading matter for all anti-Semites.

DONALD S. STRONG

Organized Anti-Semitism in America, p. 149

339. For some time past I have given consideration to the series of articles concerning Jews which since 1920 have appeared in the *Dearborn Independent*. Some of them have been reprinted under the title, "The International Jew." Although both publications are my property . . . in the multitude of my activities it has been impossible for me to devote personal attention to their management or to keep informed as to their contents. . . .

I confess that I am deeply mortified that this journal, which is intended to be constructive and not destructive, has been made the medium for resurrecting exploded fictions, for giving currency to the so-called "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion," which have been demonstrated, as I learn, to be gross forgeries, and for contending that the Jews have been engaged in a conspiracy to control the capital and the industries of the world, besides laying at their door many offenses against decency, public order and good morals.

Had I appreciated even the general nature, to say nothing of the details of these utterances, I would have forbidden their circulation without a moment's hesitation, because I am fully aware of the

virtues of the Jewish people as a whole, of what they and their ancestors have done for civilization and for mankind and toward the development of commerce and industry, of their sobriety and diligence, their benevolence, and their unselfish interest in the public welfare.

. . . I frankly confess that I have been greatly shocked as a result of my study and examination of the files of the *Dearborn Independent* and of the pamphlets entitled "The International Jew." I deem it to be my duty as an honorable man to make amends for the wrong done to the Jews as fellow-men and brothers, by asking their forgiveness for the harm I have unintentionally committed by retracting so far as lies within my power the offensive charges laid at their door by these publications, and by giving them the unqualified assurance that henceforth they may look to me for friendship and good will.

HENRY FORD

Letter to Louis Marshall, quoted in *Jewish Year Book*,
Vol. 29, 1927-1928, p. 386-387

340. The conclusive result of the discussion on the subject of the so-called "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" may be summed up as follows:

It is . . . certain that this plagiarism is an anti-Semitic forgery from the beginning to the end, without any connection whatever with Jewish personalities, groups, organizations, or conferences. The publication is in no wise, whether directly or indirectly, a product of the Jewish spirit, of Jewish tradition or of Jewish sentiments and opinions. In the entire fraud committed against humanity which the Protocols represent, the Jews are merely innocent objects, while the anti-Semites were the guilty agents. Thousands of Jews have been massacred, maltreated, plundered and imprisoned in the Ukraine and in Germany on account of this forgery. At the same time many millions of non-Jews have been deceived by the Protocols; they have been induced to commit deeds and to utter words which they would most deeply regret were the facts of the forgery known to them. No book and no event in the history of modern anti-Semitism has played such an important part as this plagiarism; it constitutes the "piece de resistance," the choice morsel of after-war anti-Semitism.

It is, therefore, the duty of all decent men in the world, be they non-Jews or Jews, anti-Semites or philo-Semites, to work with all their might and to see to it that this shameless lie, forgery, and

calumny, disappears from the world. . . . It is no exaggeration to say that the so-called "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" are both one of the most insolent forgeries of all times and one of the meanest calumnies which have ever existed in universal history.

COUNT HEINRICH COUDENHOVE-KALERGI
Anti-Semitism Throughout the Ages, p. 266, 267

341. The "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion" were first circulated in Russia during the early years of the twentieth century. Apparently they formed part of the literary stock-in-trade of certain secret organizations. The tract purports to be an account of a meeting between Jewish leaders in the fall of 1897 which year marked the first convention of the Zionist Congress. Since pilgrimages to the Holy Land were popular in Russia, the combination of Zionism and terrorism was effective propaganda. A horrible plot to undermine society, overthrow governments, and destroy Christianity is revealed. The "minutes" are copied verbatim from *A Dialogue in Hades Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu*, an attack on the Masons and the Bonapartists written in French by Maurice Joly in 1868. The "Protocols" merely substituted the word "Jew" for Joly's own devils. Another probable source is *Biarritz*, a novel published by John Retcliff in 1868, one scene in which described an imaginary annual meeting of "the princes of the twelve Tribes of Israel" in the Jewish cemetery of Prague. They discuss measures calculated to destroy all Christians. . . . Noteworthy is the fact that "Hitler's justification of them . . . almost parallels the explanation given by the Reverend Charles Coughlin at the time they were reprinted in his periodical *Social Justice*.

Editorial notation in *Mein Kampf*,
Reynal and Hitchcock edition, p. 243

3. THE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN FORGERY

342. *The Benjamin Franklin forgery refers to an alleged excerpt taken from the Journal of Charles Pinckney of South Carolina of the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1789. In this excerpt it is alleged that Franklin spoke disparagingly of the Jews and painted a dark future for America if they were not refused admission. With the advent of Hitler and during the war years, this forgery, repeatedly exposed as such, was one of the weapons in the campaign to divide the American people. Copies of the forgery*

showed up in the form of chain letters, at railway stations, on trains, busses, and other public places. The alleged excerpt is as follows:

"There is a great danger for the United States of America. This great danger is the Jew. Gentlemen, in every land the Jews have settled they have depressed the moral level and lowered the degree of commercial honesty. They have remained apart and unassimilated; oppressed, they attempt to strangle the nation financially, as in the case of Portugal and Spain.

For more than seventeen hundred years they have lamented their sorrowful fate—namely, that they have been driven out of their mother land; but, gentlemen, if the civilized world today should give them back Palestine and their property, they would immediately find pressing reason for not returning there. Why? . . . Because they are vampires and vampires cannot live on other vampires—they cannot live among themselves. They must live among Christians and others who do not belong to their race.

If they are not expelled from the United States by the Constitution within less than one hundred years, they will stream into this country in such numbers that they will rule and destroy us and change our form of Government for which we Americans shed our blood and sacrificed our lives, property and personal freedom. If the Jews are not excluded within two hundred years, our children will be working in the fields to feed Jews while they remain in counting houses, gleefully rubbing their hands.

I warn you, gentlemen, if you do not exclude the Jews forever, your children and your children's children will curse you in their graves. Their ideas are not those of Americans even when they lived among us for ten generations. The leopard cannot change his spots. The Jews are a danger to this land and if they are allowed to enter, they will imperil our institutions. They should be excluded by the Constitution."

Quoted from *Benjamin Franklin Vindicated*,
published by American Jewish Committee, 1939

343. It is not easy in historical writing to prove a negative in the absence of authentic evidence. So I wrote to . . . one of the outstanding scholars in the United States, a man most familiar with the writings of both Franklin and Pinckney. . . . To my inquiry this scholar replied that there are indications which make it almost certain that Pinckney did not keep a diary of convention proceedings. He added that there is nowhere any evidence that Franklin ever made such a speech and that it is inconceivable that he should ever have

done so. In addition, my friend, declared flatly: "The alleged Franklin document is merely a forgery, and a crude one at that."

. . . I searched Franklin's writings myself, and had searches made by scholarly assistants in the available records, including the vast collections of Frankliniana in Philadelphia. I have sought the alleged Diary of Pinckney. All these searches have produced negative results. I cannot find a single original source that gives the slightest justification for believing that the "Prophecy" is anything more than a bare-faced forgery. . . . His well-known liberality in matters of religious opinions would, in fact, have precluded the kind of utterances put in his mouth by this palpable forgery. . . .

. . . There is positive evidence that he held Jews in high regard. When the Hebrew Society of Philadelphia sought to raise money for "a religious house," or synagogue, in Philadelphia, Franklin signed the petition of appeal for contributions to "citizens of every religious denomination," and gave five pounds himself to the fund. If he had held the views falsely ascribed to him, he would scarcely have given money and lent his influence in the promotion of the Society's project.

One more point. . . . The phraseology of the alleged "Prophecy" is not that of the 18th century; nor is the language that of Franklin. It contains words that belong to contemporary Germany rather than America of Franklin's period. For example, the word "homeland" was not employed by Jews in Franklin's time. It was created in connection with the Palestine mandate. Furthermore the return to Palestine, or Zionism, was not a popular movement at that time. Few, if any, dreamed that Palestine could then be wrested from Turkish rule and made a homeland for Jews. This alleged "Prophecy" ascribed to Franklin is a crude forgery and his name should be cleared of the crass prejudices attributed to him. There is in our historical records no evidence whatever of any basis for the falsehood. Whoever encounters this piece of propaganda should nail it at once.

CHARLES A. BEARD

The Jewish Frontier, March, 1935

344. As founder of "Franklin Day," as a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania founded by Dr. Franklin, and as a member of the Benjamin Franklin Committee of the National Society, Sons of the American Revolution, I vehemently protest against the circulation of anti-Jewish statements wrongly attributed to Franklin. This libel of the Jewish race is unjust both to Jews and to the name and fame of Benjamin Franklin. Numerous Franklin authorities

have exposed this hoax. I too have investigated this calumny and find no historical basis.

J. HENRY SMYTHE, JR.

Contemporary Jewish Record, November, 1938

345. The document said to be an abstract from the Journal of Charles Pinckney of South Carolina does not exist. Neither the original, nor any copy of it, is in the possession of the Franklin Institute. . . . There is no copy in the Library of Congress, or the New York Public Library. Our state Historical Society has made careful investigation and fails to find any information concerning it. . . .

ALFRED RINGLING

Contemporary Jewish Record, November, 1938

346. . . . He wrote nothing along the lines of this particular document.

The first statement reads: "The following speech was made by the great Benjamin Franklin; and is taken from the notes of the member of Congress, William Pinckney (1789)."

Two things are wrong with this statement. First, there is no record of Benjamin Franklin having made a speech on any occasion throughout his long career. . . . Franklin was then eighty-one years of age and in poor health. He took an active part in the proceedings but made his contributions to the deliberations not orally but in written memoranda, which he handed to his friend, James Wilson, another member of the Philadelphia delegation, who sat by him and who read them to the Convention. They have been preserved and the collection is believed to be complete.

The second thing is, William Pinckney was not a member of the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention, being in fact only twenty-three years of age at the time it was held. He was not a member of Congress in 1789, which is the date given in the document but did become a member in 1816, twenty-six years after Franklin's death.

Quoted from *Benjamin Franklin Gazette*, May, 1937

347. Mr. R. also lays a good deal of stress on the alleged anti-Semitism of Benjamin Franklin. Even if it were true, we do not see that it would be of world-shaking importance. Contemporaries of Franklin, with generally distinguished reputations, believed in witches and thought that toads caused warts. But anyway, there is the best of reasons for thinking that Franklin never held any such views as are reported. They are commonly attributed to documents in the possession of the Franklin Institute. . . . The Institute has no such document and the directors are convinced it is a forgery.

There is, in fact, positive evidence that Franklin held the Jews in high esteem. When the Hebrew Society of Philadelphia was trying to raise money for a "religious house" Franklin not only contributed five pounds to the fund himself, but signed an appeal asking others to do the same. . . .

An earlier version of the Franklin Story, circulated by American Nazis, had an introductory paragraph in which Franklin attacked the Catholic Church as well as the Jews. This paragraph has since been dropped. We should like to know whether the deletion took place at the time when Hitler and the Vatican seemed on the point of patching up their difficulties.

Editorial in *The New Republic*, September 14, 1938

B. CANARDS

1. BLOOD ACCUSATION

348. We have received the tearful plaint of the Jews of Germany that some princes, both ecclesiastical and lay, and other nobles and rulers of your districts and dioceses are plotting evil plans against them and are devising numerous and varied pretexts so as to rob them unjustly and seize their property, without stopping to consider that it is from the archives of the Jews as it were that the testimony for the Christian faith has come forth. Despite the fact that among other things, Divine Scriptures pronounce the law "Thou shalt not kill," and despite the fact that it prohibits the Jews, while solemnizing the Passover, to touch any dead body, nevertheless they are falsely accused that during this very festival they share the heart of a murdered child. This, it is believed their law enjoins, although it is clearly contrary to the Law. No matter where a dead body is found their persecutors wickedly throw it up to them. Because of this and many other imaginary crimes, they rage in their midst, although the Jews are not accused of these crimes, nor do they confess them, nor are they convicted of them. Contrary to the privileges mercifully granted the Jews by the Apostolic throne, and in subversion of God and justice, the Jews are robbed of all their goods. These rulers oppress them by denial of food, by imprisonment and by so many injuries and oppressions, by afflicting them with various kinds of punishment and by condemning an enormous number of them to a most shameful death, that the Jews are living as it were, under the rule of said princes, nobles, and potentates, in worse condition than did their ancestors under Pharaoh in Egypt. From places inhabited by them and their ancestors from time immemorial, they are forced

to go into miserable exile. Wherefore, fearing total extermination, they thought to have recourse to the protection of the Apostolic throne. Now, since we do not want the said Jews to be unjustly harassed whose conversions our Lord in His mercy expects, for, in accordance with prophetic testimony, we should believe that a remnant of them will be saved, therefore, we command that you show yourself favorably disposed and kindly towards them, and that, after finding out whatever you can about the above, whatever may have been rashly attempted against the Jews by the said prelates, nobles, and rulers, and after restoring everything to its usual status, you shall not permit the Jews to be molested undeservedly any further by anyone with regard to the matters mentioned above or with regard to similar ones.

BULL OF POPE INNOCENT IV AGAINST
RITUAL MURDER ACCUSATION, LYONS, 1247

Quoted by Julius Hoexter and Moses Jung
Source Book of Jewish History and Literature, p. 138, 139

349. The occurrence of a number of such cases (ritual murder) during the first half of the thirteenth century . . . led the German Emperor Frederick II to consult a committee of scholars and distinguished Jewish converts to Christianity from all parts of Europe to ascertain whether the Jews required Christian blood on . . . Good Friday. These experts replied . . . "Neither the Old nor the New Testament states that the Jews lust for human blood; on the contrary, it is expressly stated in the Bible, in the laws of Moses, and in the Jewish ordinances designated in Hebrew as the 'Talmud,' that they should not defile themselves with blood. Those to whom even the tasting of animal blood is prohibited surely cannot thirst for that of human beings, (1) because of the horror of the thing; (2) because it is forbidden by nature; (3) because of the human tie that also binds the Jews to Christians; and (4) because they would not wilfully imperil their lives and property." JOSHUA TRACHTENBERG
The Devil and the Jews, p. 132, 133

350. This general hostility was intensified by a series of accusations against the Jews which grew up during the Middle Ages. The first was that of ritual murder, usually in the form of a charge that the Jews used the blood of a Christian child in making their unleavened cakes for Passover. Whenever a child disappeared, therefore, the Jews were blamed. When a murder was committed, the body might be thrown into a Jewish quarter and give rise to accusations. Even when no violence had occurred, the charges repeated in

all faith during the holy season—for Passover and Easter usually coincide—might bring about a massacre and give rise to the shrine of another fabled victim like that of Hugh of Lincoln.

The blood accusation spread like wild fire, even though it had not the slightest support in either Bible or Talmud and was actually denied officially by several Popes. . . . Charges such as this have been alleged from 1171 in Blois to 1911 in Kiev.

LEE J. LEVINGER

Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 58, 59

351. Medieval Christians . . . believed that Christian children were seized and tortured to death by the Jews during the Passover season. This myth appears in a complete form for the first time in *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*, a Latin work written about 1173 by Thomas Monmouth. . . . The story of the ritual murder of the boy William in 1144 is virtually the first of a long series of such accusations, a series that has not yet come to an end. The significance of these accusations is that by such descriptions of the Jew they have served throughout the ages to create an anti-Jewish mentality. Generations have believed that no Christian child was safe in Jewish hands. Hundreds of Jews have been imprisoned, killed, or burned alive on this charge. The Papacy has frequently denounced this charge, yet it is equally true that in numerous instances the accusation of ritual murder was not made except with the vigorous support of the local Church authorities.

JACOB R. MARCUS

The Jew in the Medieval World, p. 121

2. HOST DESECRATION

352. One of the basic rites of the Catholic Church is the Holy Communion. In this ceremony the Eucharist, consisting of the wine and the "Host" (a piece of consecrated bread), undergo a miraculous change. The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) tells us that Jesus' "body and blood are verily contained in the sacrament of the altar under the species of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the body and the wine into the blood by Divine Power."

Since according to Catholic doctrine the consecrated wafer becomes the "real" body of Jesus it was natural that these Hosts should become the subject of miracles. In the thirteenth century when the doctrine of transubstantiation found general acceptance the belief began to grow that the Jews were desecrating the host; because of

their hatred of Jesus, they desired to recrucify him. This they did, so it was said, by sticking needles and knives into the wafers which then began to bleed. The curious Jews, it would seem, wanted also to test the truth of Christianity, but the miracles that ensued from this act of defilement proclaimed to the astonished Jews the soundness of the Catholic doctrine. Such was the general belief in the later Middle Ages.

JACOB R. MARCUS

The Jew in the Medieval World, p. 155

3. USURERS

353. The early history of the regularization of the Jew's position is lost in mists, but there is no question but that everywhere in northern Europe kings, princes and barons came to consider the Jews as their own private property. . . . Their princely owner could do as he liked with them, put them to death . . . baptize them, extract all their teeth or otherwise mutilate them, banish them from his domains, or confiscate all their property. Princes of the Church were often responsible for decrees against the Jews. . . . The result was that the Jew came to be regarded as a special kind of serf and, as time went on, he was considered an asset to the treasury, a status of which was known as the "servitudo camerae" or serfdom of the treasury. . . .

To accentuate the tragedy, that which gave the medieval Jew the greatest security on the side of his owner was the very aspect of his life which made him the most hated of his neighbors. He secured official protection at the price of public detestation. The princes did not give him their protection for nothing; they gave it because they found him useful as a usurer.

. . . When the leaders of the Church decided that all forms of usury should be forbidden, the monasteries and the secular clergy were loath to forego what had become an important clerical activity, and various practices sprang up whereby canonical prohibitions could be evaded. With the growth of industry and commerce the merchant, who was at first a traveler from whom it was not easy to borrow money on account of the difficulty of finding securities which he would accept, began to settle in cities and become accessible to would-be borrowers. Jewish merchants entered this new field of profit-making with their Christian colleagues, but they continued to belong to various owners, and the profits of the new business proved an excellent source of revenue for their masters.

It was only this opportunity and not a special aptitude for usuri-

ous deals which brought the Jew into money-lending. And for the sake of the wealth which the princes could take from his profits the Jew was forced to develop a business side-line into an entire commercial activity. Christian merchants competed with him in this market, and borrowers generally found to their cost that in comparison with those of the Jew the terms of the Christian usurer were hard and unconscionable. . . . It must not be forgotten that the princes fixed the rate of interest and took a large part of the yield from the Jew, and they protected him simply in order that he might continue to be used by them as a sponge to soak up money from their subjects. . . . It (usury) is a product of their history, not of their blood.

JAMES W. PARKES

The Jew as Usurer, p. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 .

4. REVOLUTIONISTS

354. The hypothesis of the Jews' racially conditioned tendency to radicalism, is of course, like all theories of fixed psychical racial qualities, incapable of scientific proof and should therefore not be resorted to when, as here, the matter admits of natural explanation without it. There is much evidence against the hypothesis. According to ancient Jewish ideas it is a mortal sin to sell oneself to the revolutionaries, to "Korah's company." The Orthodox Jew is the least revolutionary of men. And the conservative Disraeli . . . asserted his conviction, in his novel *Coningsby*, that the Jews are by nature conservatives and that injurious treatment alone is able to turn them into radicals. The Jews' political leanings in all those countries in which anti-Semitism has not embittered their lives, in America . . . Scandinavia—especially in Sweden, . . . appear to bear out his words. Probably in none of these countries are they all on the average more radical than the non-Jewish members of the same social classes as they belong to. . . . Thus Jewish radicalism is no universally Jewish phenomenon. No doubt there are to be found everywhere individual radical Jews, as there are non-radical Jews, but a Jewish, in the sense of a racially determined, radicalism exists only in Eastern Europe and Germany, where the Conservative and Nationalist Parties are hostile to the Jews. We must therefore conclude that, if the Jews are "by nature" disposed to radicalism, which is very doubtful, it requires certain special conditions to bring about this tendency. As a rule the tradition of Jewish civilization does not seem to have had much influence on the politically radical Jews of our time. On the other hand there is no doubt that the conscious-

ness of belonging to a slighted human group has predisposed many a wronged and insulted Jewish child to adopt a radical attitude of opposition to the State and society and caused many Jews . . . from well-to-do homes to have a feeling of solidarity, not indeed with their racial kinsfolk, for as a rule they have been indifferent to them, but to the persecuted and down-trodden proletariat, with the outcasts of society; a fact of extreme importance for an understanding not only of Eastern-Jewish but also of German Jewish radicalism.

HUGO VALENTIN

Anti-Semitism Historically and Critically Examined, p. 242, 243

355. That Russian Jews were eager and responsible for Communism is a charge that is ridiculous in the face of it, since for Russian Jewry as a whole, Communism meant ruin rather than salvation. Russian Jews were mostly small traders, and 35 per cent of all Russian Jewry was "declassed," by the Bolsheviks (only 6 per cent of the general population suffered the same fate) and this meant that they were deprived of the right to vote, hold public office, receive food cards or work in factories. Indeed this policy of declassing the Jews was in a measure a deliberate act of reprisal because the Jews mostly supported the democratic Kerensky against the Bolsheviks. Again the Russian-Jewish community was essentially Orthodox and was influenced by religious motives to resist to the bitter end atheistic Communism. It is notorious that the Russian Government closed synagogues and prohibited the teaching of Jewish religion. Hebrew educational work and publications in Hebrew were proscribed. Zionism was and still is suppressed.

As for present leadership, anti-Semites deliberately confuse the public mind by calling every Communist a Jew and every Jew a Communist. Lenin was not a Jew. Stalin and Kalinin are not Jews. Among the officials of outstanding importance in Russia today (1939) there is only one Jew—L. Kagauvich. There are no Jews in the secretariat. In the Political Bureau there are twelve non-Jews and one Jew. The most brilliant diplomat in Russia—Maxim Litvinoff, a Jew—has recently been summarily dismissed. Nothing could be further from the truth than the assertion that Jews did or do control the government of Soviet Russia.

In Germany . . . in the last free elections the Communist Party received six million votes. There were 600,000 Jews in Germany at that time and if every man, woman and child—even those who had no votes—had cast a Communist ballot, they would still total a small portion of the six million Communist voters.

As a result of this vote, 100 Communist deputies secured seats in the German Reichstag in 1932. Not one of these was Jewish.

The influence of Jews in the Communist Party of the United States is very small. In the elections for U. S. President in 1932, the candidate of the Communist Party secured 50,000 votes in New York City where almost two million Jews reside. The vote for the Communist Party was even smaller in 1936. In the State of Arizona, where only 1500 Jews have made their homes, the Communist candidate obtained 12,500 votes or 25 per cent of that of New York.

COMMITTEE ON JEWISH-GENTILE RELATIONSHIPS (ONTARIO)
Facts and Fables about the Jews

356. Your Nazi-duped anti-Semitic American may even accept these facts since he can't disprove them—and still assert with a leer that anyway "all Jews are Communists." Know your facts and you will be able to point out first of all, that Karl Marx, founder of modern theoretical Communism saw the light of day in a Christian home although his parents were from Jewish stock. He was baptized a Lutheran Christian at the age of six. Why not then call his Communism a Lutheran product? It is, if you call kittens biscuits when they are born in an oven. Hitlerism is then Roman Catholic and modern Stalinism is Greek Catholic since Hitler, like Mussolini, was born a Catholic and Stalin studied in a Greek Orthodox monastery!

The fact that every important Jewish organization in America has condemned Communism may not weigh heavily with your fanatic Nazi—but it is a fact just the same.

HENRY SMITH LEIPER
Anti-Semitism: Treason Against God and Country, p. 3

5. DISLOYALTY

357. When with true American enthusiasm and pride we recall the story of the war for our independence, and rejoice in the indomitable courage and fortitude of our Revolutionary heroes, we should not fail to remember how well the Jews of America performed their part in the struggle and how in every way they usefully and patriotically supported the interests of their newly found home. Nor can we overlook, if we are decently just, the valuable aid cheerfully contributed by our Jewish fellow countrymen in every national emergency that has since overtaken us.

PRESIDENT GROVER CLEVELAND
Quoted by Samuel Walker McCall in
Patriotism of the American Jew, p. 119

358. From the day of the founding of the Republic, we have had no struggle, military or civil, in which there have not been citizens of Jewish faith who played an eminent part for the honor and credit of the nation.

PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Quoted by Samuel Walker McCall in
Patriotism of the American Jew, p. 118

359. The American people need no reminder of the service which those of Jewish faith have rendered our nation. It has been a service with honor and distinction. History reveals that your people have played a great and commendable part in the defense of Americanism during the World War and prior wars, and have contributed much in time of peace toward the development and preservation of the glory and romance of our country and our democratic form of government.

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, in a letter dated August 13, 1938 to Jewish War Veterans in the United States; quoted by J. George Fredman and Louis A. Falk, *Jews in American Wars*, p. 8

360. The War Department . . . has declared that statistics on religious groupings in the Army will be available only at the conclusion of hostilities. It has said, nevertheless, that religious groups today have the same proportions in the Army as their ratio in the general population. . . .

Adjutant General, Maj. Gen. C. S. Adams, December 5th, 1941:
"The Department has no statistics on the subject. Religious affiliations and denominational preference are approximately the same in the Army as in civilian life. The current strength of the Army is a fair cross-section of American life in all its phases, including religion."

J. GEORGE FREDMAN and LOUIS A. FALK
Jews in American Wars, p. 80, 81

361. By proportion of population the Jews of America should have numbered about 3 per cent of the armed forces. Actually they contributed between 4 and 5 per cent of the military and naval personnel, or a third beyond their normal share. . . . But the chief reason for the high percentage of Jews in the service was to be found in the large number of Jewish volunteers. The records show that there were from 30,000 to 40,000 Jewish volunteers, or 18 per cent of the entire Jewish contingent. In other words, the

normal Jewish quota of 3 per cent was contributed through the draft, and the excess was supplied by volunteers. . . . Figures . . . reveal that there were 225,000 Jews in the various branches of the armed services of the United States during the World War. Of these 171,000 were in the Army, 23,500 in the Navy, 12,250 in the Marine Corps, and 18,000 in other branches of the service. . . .

The infantry branch comprised 26.6 per cent of the entire Army, while among the Jews it constituted 48 per cent. . . .

. . . Evidence of the high quality of Jewish courage in the war is to be found in the official citations for gallantry in action or devotion above and beyond the call of duty. No less than 1,100 citations for valor were conferred on Jewish soldiers in the American Army. Of these, 723 were conferred by American command, 287 by the French, thirty-three by the British, and forty-six by various other allied commands. The rare Congressional Medal of Honor was won by six Jews. The Distinguished Service Cross is worn by 150, the French Medaille Military by four American Jews, and the Croix de Guerre by 175 Jews in the A.E.F.

One more piece of statistical evidence remains to be added to complete this record—Jewish casualties. Figures compiled by the Jewish War Records show that 3,500 Jews died fighting—1,800 in action, 500 of wounds, and 1,100 of accident, disease, and other causes. The Jewish wounded number 12,000. Thus the total Jews killed was 5 per cent of the entire death roll and the total Jews who died or shed their blood was over 15,000.

Such was the epic of Jewish heroism in 1917-18. And it is an epic that can be matched in every crisis that has confronted America. Today, when the call to service has become the greatest opportunity for patriotism in action, Jewish youth is again answering that call, proudly and loyally. Come what may, the youth of American Israel is on the march with all other American youth, on the march to the defense of the American way.

BERNARD POSTAL

The Jewish Times, November 15, 1940

362. Years after the Civil War a writer in a magazine made some statement attacking the patriotism and courage of the Jews during the conflict. So Simon Wolf, who had lived in Washington through the war and knew many of the facts, set out to collect all the information he could regarding the American Jews in the armies; he was not able to get every fact because many of the states did not have full records and many soldiers were not listed by their religion

but only by their home city. . . . The results . . . published in . . . *The American Jew as a Patriot, Soldier and Citizen* . . . disprove every slander made against Jewish patriotism.

Mr. Wolf lists by name over 6000 Jews who served in the Union armies and 1200 in the Confederate forces, a total of about 7500 from less than 200,000 people, many of them recent immigrants. . . . The highest ranking officers . . . were in the North. . . . Four Jews attained the rank of General . . . in the Union Army. . . . Three Jews were full Colonels and brevetted Brigadier General. . . . Seven Jews were awarded, for distinguished gallantry on the field of battle, the Congressional Medal of Honor, the highest honor that can be given to an American soldier.

LEE J. LEVINGER

A History of the Jews in the United States, p. 199-201

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BOOK III

BEACON LIGHTS

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CHAPTER I
FREEDOM DOCUMENTED
A. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1. DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (JULY 4TH, 1776)

363. We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

2. VIRGINIA STATUTE OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY (1786)

364. No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place of ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities.

Quoted in *We Americans*, p. 39, 40

3. THE NORTHWEST ORDINANCE ESTABLISHING A GOVERNMENT
IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY (1787)

365. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments in the said territory.

Quoted in *We Americans*, p. 40

4. CONSTITUTION OF THE U. S. (1787) ARTICLE VI, SECTION 3

366. The Senators or Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the Several States,

shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

5. BILL OF RIGHTS—FIRST AMENDMENT (1791)

367. Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

6. PROCLAMATION OF JEWISH EMANCIPATION IN FRANCE (SEPTEMBER 28, 1791)

368. Whereas the conditions under which French citizenship is granted are set forth in the Constitution and whereas every person accepting those conditions and obliging himself by oath of citizenship to fulfill such conditions is entitled to the enjoyment of all rights guaranteed in the Constitution, the National Assembly herewith abrogates all restrictive laws concerning the Jews as they appeared in earlier decrees. The Jews by taking the oath of citizenship forego the right to any previously granted privileges or special legislation.

Quoted by JULIUS HOEXTER and MOSES JUNG
Source Book of Jewish History and Literature, p. 227

7. GHETTO ABOLISHED IN ITALY (AUGUST 28, 1797)

369. The Central Government of the Paduan Delta Districts of Rovigo and Adria, having heard the reports of the Department of Justice and the chief of police,

Decrees:

First,—That the Hebrews are at liberty to live in any street they please;

Secondly,—That the barbarous and meaningless name of Ghetto, which designates the street which they have been inhabiting hitherto, shall be substituted by that of Via Libera. . . .

Quoted by RAPHAEL MAHLER
Jewish Emancipation, p. 28

B. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1. JEWISH EMANCIPATION IN PRUSSIA (1812)

370. We, Friedrich Wilhelm, by the Grace of God, King of Prussia, etc., have resolved to grant the adherents of the Jewish faith in our monarchy a new constitution suitable to the general welfare, and declare all laws and regulations concerning Jews [issued] heretofore, which are not confirmed by the present Edict as abolished, and decree as follows:

Sec. 1. Jews and their families domiciled at present in Our States, provided with general privileges, patent letters of naturalization, letters of protection and concessions, are to be considered as natives [Einländer] and as Prussian state citizens.

Sec. 7. Jews considered as natives . . . shall enjoy equal civil rights and liberties with Christians, in so far as this Order does not contain anything to the contrary.

Sec. 8. They may therefore administer academic school teaching and municipal offices for which they qualified themselves.

Sec. 10. They are at liberty to settle in the towns as well as in the open country.

Sec. 11. They may acquire real estate of any kind same as the Christian inhabitants and they may carry on any permitted trade, with the provision that they observe the general legal regulations.

Sec. 20. The civil legal regulations of Jews shall be judged by the same laws which serve as the rule for other Prussian state citizens.

Quoted by RAPHAEL MAHLER
Jewish Emancipation, p. 32-34

2. QUEBEC EMANCIPATION ACT (JUNE 5, 1832): AN ACT TO
DECLARE PERSONS PROFESSING THE JEWISH RELIGION ENTITLED
TO ALL THE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF THE OTHER SUBJECTS
OF HIS MAJESTY IN THIS PROVINCE

371. "... and it is hereby declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all persons professing the Jewish religion being natural-born British subjects inhabiting and residing in this province, are entitled and shall be deemed, adjudged and taken to be entitled to the full rights and privileges of the other subjects of his Majesty, his heirs or successors, to all intents, constructions and purposes

whatsoever, and capable of taking, having or enjoying any office or place of trust whatsoever, within this province.

Quoted by RAPHAEL MAHLER
Jewish Emancipation, p. 46, 47

3. CONSTITUTIONAL CHARTER OF PRUSSIA (DECEMBER 5, 1848)

372. Article 4. All Prussians are equal before the law. Privileges of estate shall not exist. Public offices shall be equally accessible to all thereto qualified.

Art. 11. Freedom of religious confession, of forming religious associations (Art. 28 and 29) and of common and public exercises of religion is guaranteed. The enjoyment of civil and political [staatsbürgerlich] rights shall be independent of religious confession and of participation in any religious association. Civil and political duties should not be impaired by the exercise of religious freedom.

Quoted by RAPHAEL MAHLER
Jewish Emancipation, p. 48

4. RELIGIOUS EQUALITY IN THE REICH (DECEMBER 27, 1848): LAW CONCERNING THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE

373. The Imperial Regent (Reichsverweser) in execution of the resolution of the National Assembly of December 21, 1848, proclaims as law:

1. *The Fundamental Rights of the German People*

The following fundamental rights shall be granted to the German people. They shall serve as a norm for the constitutions of the individual German states and no constitution or legislation of an individual German state may abolish or restrict them:

Art. 5

Sec. 14. Every German has full freedom of faith and conscience. Nobody shall be forced to disclose his religious creed.

Sec. 16. The enjoyment of civil or political rights shall be neither conditioned nor limited by religious confession.

The same religious confession should not impair civil duties.

Sec. 17. . . . No religious association shall benefit from any state prerogatives before others. No state church shall exist henceforth.

Quoted by RAPHAEL MAHLER
Jewish Emancipation, p. 48, 49

5. CONSTITUTIONAL CHARTER, AUSTRIA (MARCH 4, 1849)

374. We, Franz Joseph the First, etc., decree as follows:

Sec. 1. Full freedom of creed and the right of domestic exercise of religious confession is guaranteed to all. The enjoyment of civil and political rights is independent of the religious confession, but civil duties should not be impaired by the religious beliefs.

Quoted by RAPHAEL MAHLER
Jewish Emancipation, p. 49

6. FINAL EMANCIPATION IN ITALY (OCTOBER 13, 1870): ROYAL DECREE BY VIRTUE OF WHICH IN ROME AND IN THE ROMAN PROVINCES ALL INEQUALITIES SHALL CEASE AMONGST CITIZENS REGARDLESS OF THE RELIGION WHICH THEY PROFESS, CONCERNING THE ENJOYMENT AND EXERCISE OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS AND COMPETENCE TO HOLD PUBLIC OFFICES

375.

Vittorio Emanuele II

By the Grace of God and the Will of the Nation King of Italy.

Having considered Article 24 of the Statute, and having heard the Council of Ministers, and on the proposal by the Keeper of Our Seals, Minister Secretary of State for the Affairs of Charity and Justice of Religious.

We have decreed and hereby decree:

Art. 1. In Rome and in the Roman provinces all inequality between citizens whatever religion they may profess shall cease with regard to the enjoyment and the exercise of civil and political rights and to the competence for public offices.

Art. 2. Every law and disposition contrary to the present Decree, which becomes effectual immediately upon its publication, is abrogated.

RAPHAEL MAHLER
Jewish Emancipation, p. 59

C. THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

1. RUSSIAN EMANCIPATION BY THE MARCH REVOLUTION (APRIL 2, 1917): DECREE OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT ABOUT THE ABOLITION OF RELIGIOUS AND NATIONAL RESTRICTIONS

376. Whereas it is our unshakable conviction that in a free country all citizens should be equal before the law, and that the

conscience of the people cannot acquiesce in legal restrictions against particular citizens on account of their religion and origin,

The Provisional Government has decreed:

All restrictions on the rights of Russian citizens which had been enacted by existing laws on account of their belonging to any creed, confession, or nationality, shall be abolished.

Quoted by RAPHAEL MAHLER
Jewish Emancipation, p. 63, 64

2. THE BALFOUR DECLARATION (1917)

377. *On November 2, 1917, Arthur James (later Lord) Balfour, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the British War Cabinet, sent the following letter to Lord Lionel Walter Rothschild:*

Foreign Office,
November 2nd, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to and approved by, the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours,

A. J. BALFOUR

Quoted from the pamphlet, *The Balfour Declaration and American Interest in Palestine*, p. 3

3. DECREE OF COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS (1918)

378. Decree of the Council of People's Commissars on the Uprooting of the anti-Semitic Movement, August 9, 1918.

... The Jewish worker is our brother.

Any kind of hatred against any nation is inadmissible and shameful.

The Council of People's Commissars declares that the anti-Semitic movement and pogroms against the Jews are fatal to the interests of the workers and peasants' revolution and calls upon the toiling people of Socialist Russia to fight this evil with all the means at their disposal.

Quoted in pamphlet, *Lenin on the Jewish Question*, p. 23

4. CONSTITUTION OF THE GERMAN REICH (AUGUST 11, 1919)

379. Art. 135. All inhabitants of the commonwealth enjoy complete liberty of belief and conscience. The free exercise of religion is assured by the Constitution and is under public protection. . . .

Art. 136. Civil and political rights and duties are neither conditioned upon nor limited by the exercise of religious liberty.

The enjoyment of civil and political rights as well as eligibility to public office is independent of religious belief.

Quoted by JULIUS HOEXTER and MOSES JUNG
Source Book of Jewish History and Literature, p. 239

5. BRITISH MANDATE OVER PALESTINE (1922)

380.

JEWISH NATIONAL HOME TO BE ESTABLISHED

The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion. (Article 2)

JEWISH AGENCY RECOGNIZED

|||||

An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with

His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the cooperation of the Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home. (Article 4)

IMMIGRATION TO BE ENCOURAGED

The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage in cooperation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4 close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes. (Article 6)

ECONOMIC SYSTEM OUTLINED

The Administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country and, subject to any international obligations accepted by the Mandatory, shall have full power to provide for public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country or of the public works, services and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

The Administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in Article 4 to construct or operate upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilized by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the Administration. (Article 11)

Quoted from *The Balfour Declaration and American Interest in Palestine*

6. THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.S.R. (DECEMBER 5, 1936)

381. Article 123

Equality of rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt is punishable by law.

RAPHAEL MAHLER

Jewish Emancipation, p. 67

7. FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE ORDER—EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802 (JUNE 25, 1941): REAFFIRMING POLICY OF FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE DEFENSE PROGRAM BY ALL PERSONS, REGARDLESS OF RACE, CREED, COLOR OR NATIONAL ORIGIN, AND DIRECTING CERTAIN ACTION IN FURTHERANCE OF SAID POLICY

382. Whereas it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the national defense program by all citizens of the United States, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the Nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders; and

Whereas there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in defense production solely because of considerations of race, creed, color, or national origin, to the detriment of workers' morale and of national unity;

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes, and as a prerequisite to the successful conduct of our national defense production effort, I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or Government because of race, creed, color, or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of said policy and of this order, to provide for the full equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

And it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

2. All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color or national origin;

3. There is established in the Office of Production Management a Committee on Fair Employment Practice. . . . The Committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in violation of the provisions of this order and shall take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid. The Committee shall also recommend to the several departments and agencies of the Government of the United States and to the President all measures which may be deemed by it necessary or proper to effectuate the provisions of this order.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

CHAPTER II

CHAMPIONS OF DEMOCRACY

1. JOHANN REUCHLIN (1455-1522)

"The Torah Is Truth"

383. At the opening of the sixteenth century it appeared as if there would be a change in the status of the German Jew who for centuries had been as dust under the feet of kings, clergy and masses. The Protestant Reformation shook the country out of its medieval lethargy and broke the hold of the Papacy on spirit and intellect. The reformers leaned heavily on Jewish scholarship to guide them in understanding the Bible in the original Hebrew. Unfortunately, the new developments did not liberalize the German spirit. The Protestants proved as narrow and intolerant as the Catholics had been. . . .

At the beginning of the century a determined effort was made to convert the Jews of Germany. It was the opinion of Johann Pfefferkorn, a Jewish apostate, whose early training as a butcher was his sole claim to scholarship, that the center of Jewish resistance was the Talmud and its commentaries. If these volumes, filled with libels on Christianity could be destroyed, he said, Jewish solidarity would be weakened and ultimately dissolved. Pfefferkorn was supported by the Dominicans of Cologne, and, in 1509 he obtained permission from the Emperor Maximilian to confiscate all literature of an anti-Christian nature. Fortunately Germany possessed a distinguished humanist, Johann Reuchlin, who had studied under Jewish teachers and had a more enlightened appreciation of Jewish literature. When summoned by the emperor to give his opinion on the suppression of the suspected books, he paid a glowing tribute to Jewish scholarship and deplored the sacrifices of its creations simply because they had no connection with the Christian faith. He went so far as to suggest that, for ten years, the emperor should endow two chairs in Hebrew at every German university!

Impressed by Reuchlin's plea, the emperor recalled his decree, and the Dominicans rightly threw the blame for the miscarriage of

their plans upon Reuchlin. A fierce battle of books was now begun which continued for nearly ten years. The humanists of Europe as well as of Germany sided with Reuchlin. . . . The issue passed beyond the merit of the Talmud and Hebrew literature. Public opinion was stirred on the whole question of freedom of thought and the Church forces received blows from which they did not soon recover. . . . Soon after, Luther, who had consistently sided with Reuchlin, began his tremendous assaults on the whole fabric of the Catholic Church.

ABRAM L. SACHAR

A History of the Jews, p. 227, 228

384. The movement known as humanism certainly influenced some sections of society in favor of the Jews. But the humanists were only a few scattered scholars. . . . Some of them had studied Hebrew with the Rabbis and not only understood Jewish books but even had Jewish friends.

In one famous controversy, however, the humanist, John Reuchlin defended the Jews directly and won a victory in their behalf. This occurred in 1509 when Johann Pfefferkorn, a butcher, converted from Judaism, brought up the old charges against the Talmud with the support of the Dominicans and persuaded Emperor Maximilian to turn over the Jewish books to him that he might expose further Jewish attacks upon Christianity. . . . The . . . Emperor appointed a commission to study the matter, with Reuchlin as the one Hebraist among them.

Reuchlin was no great friend of the Jews in his personal life, but he was a friend of truth and justice and above all he loved Hebrew literature. Pfefferkorn wrote several slanderous pamphlets, particularly one called. . . . *The Mirror of the Jews*. As we might expect, the majority of the commission agreed with his views; Reuchlin was accused of selling his favorable opinions for Jewish gold. For Reuchlin not only praised the Jewish literature highly before the Emperor, but actually recommended the establishment of chairs in Hebrew in the German universities. He replied to his opponents with *The Mirror of the Eyes*. . . . From that time on the controversy raged between the Dominicans and the humanists. Pfefferkorn was forgotten and the Talmud saved from the flames. A rare exception in that day when any accusation against the Jews was certain of victory from the beginning of the debate.

LEE J. LEVINGER

Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 69, 70

2. GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM LESSING (1729-1781)

"Nathan the Wise"

385. It was a momentous day for him (Moses Mendelssohn), when, in 1754 he met Gotthold Lessing, the brilliant German critic and dramatist, one of the most liberal spirits of the 18th Century. Lessing was immensely impressed. . . . The two became fast friends. . . .

Lessing had already begun to preach his gospel of tolerance in a youthful drama entitled *The Jews* published in 1749. He had there pointed out the excellent qualities of the Jews and had pilloried Protestant bigotry which ignorantly degraded a noble people. . . . In Mendelssohn the young critic met the type which he had idealized, a brilliant intellect, a lovable nature, an expansive spirit. *Nathan the Wise*, the masterpiece of Lessing's maturest genius, was undoubtedly created around the personality of his gifted Hebrew friend.

The few decades preceding the French Revolution were noteworthy for their spirit of self-examination. . . . It was now possible to speak up more boldly for the long-victimized Jews. . . . Lessing's courageous advocacy of the Jewish claims has already been noted. His drama *Nathan the Wise*, "the Song of Songs of tolerance," was immensely influential. Banned at first by self-righteous Christians, attacked as absurd and impossible, it became highly popular and was never read or performed without dissipating ugly clouds of prejudice. It gave cultured Germany a view of a despised race which put arrogant Christians to shame. Perhaps not least among its benefactions was the new self-respect which it awakened in Jews themselves.

ABRAM L. SACHAR

A History of the Jews, p. 268, 273

3. THOMAS B. MACAULAY (1800-1859)

"English Emancipation"

386. Macaulay's interest for Jews derives from his famous advocacy of Jewish emancipation in England. His maiden speech in Parliament, on April 5, 1830, was in support of Sir Robert Grant's Bill for the Removal of Jewish Disabilities and the following year he contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*, a masterly essay on the same theme, entitled "Civil Disabilities of the Jews." This article . . . presented the following arguments: (1) All members of a

community have a right to share in its government. (2) There being no real difference between political and civil rights, it is absurd to exclude the Jews from the one when they already possess the other. (3) If the Jews are accused of being alien-minded, this is but the result of the way they have been treated. . . . Similar arguments were advanced by Macaulay in a further speech . . . in 1833, while . . . in 1841, his oratory supported the Jews' Declaration Bill. . . . Both the essay and the speech of 1833 achieved a notable success, the former being regarded thenceforth as the leading statement of the Jewish case. *New Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 7, p. 259

4. THOMAS G. MASARYK (1850-1937)

"Champion of Truth"

387. Masaryk—what grandeur that name connotes! The son of a serf who created a nation; the blacksmith boy who grew to have "the finest intellect of the century" . . . an unchallengeably firm democrat who, in the debacle of the modern world, still believes in rule by tolerance. . . . A philosopher and prophet of almost Judaic stature. . . .

The greatest of living Czechoslovaks, the first act in his life to bring him prominence was an investigation which proved a set of documents hallowed and revered by the Czech and Slovak peoples to be forgeries. A Roman Catholic who turned Protestant, he gained early distinction by defending a Jew wrongfully accused of an obscure ritual murder. He exposed as fabrications of the Austrian foreign office the documents in the Friedjung case which ruined what was then his official career; but this occasion made him a hero of the oppressed Slavic peoples. Dominating his life have been two factors, faith in Czechoslovakia and the pursuit of truth.

JOHN GUNTHER

Inside Europe, p. 428, 429

388. Czechs and Germans combined forces in 1899 to frame a charge of ritual murder against Leopold Hilsner, a half-witted cobbler's helper of Polna, on the Bohemian Moravian border. The responsible Jewish circles refused to engage a Czech lawyer to defend Hilsner because they regarded such a move as anti-National. The Czech jurists, for their part, regarded it as a patriotic duty to give the Jews a reckoning to be remembered. They operated with the belief in the calumny of ritual murder and succeeded in procuring a "verdict of complicity" against Hilsner and in obtaining

his condemnation to death by hanging. The sentence of the court excluded the presumption of a religious motive in the fact, but anti-Semitic propaganda proclaimed that the existence of a Jewish association to murder their Christian fellow citizens for the purpose of using their blood had been demonstrated in a court of law. It was in vain that the Czech sociologist, T. G. Masaryk, later to become the first president of the Czech state, issued a brochure on "The Necessity of a Retrial of the Polna Case." His brochure was sequestered. Hilsner was indeed tried again, but with the result that he was found guilty of another murder and again sentenced to death. His sentence was commuted to life imprisonment and later (1916) he was pardoned. A re-examination of the trial was not granted, but scholarly investigation demonstrated the monstrosity of both actions. . . .

What good will on the part of the government could achieve is shown by Czechoslovakia whose leading statesman, Professor Masaryk, not only taught ethics but practiced ethics and made it clear that religious persecutions would not be tolerated. . . . The government left no doubt that it condemned attacks upon life and property and that it would impose just penalties upon the guilty. It also gave the Slovak Babbitts, who wished to use their new freedom to drive the Jews from their former economic positions, clearly to understand that the new state recognized no differences on grounds of religion.

ISMAR ELBOGEN

A Century of Jewish Life, p. 173, 495, 496

5. EMILE ZOLA (1840-1902)

"J'accuse"

389. On October 15, 1894, Captain Alfred Dreyfus . . . an Alsatian Jew, attached to the French general staff, was arrested on the charge of having furnished staff secrets to the German government. He was condemned by a court martial for high treason and sentenced to life imprisonment. . . .

It was a cabal deftly contrived by the clerical-royalist enemies of the Third Republic, in league with the generals of the army. . . . The charge against Dreyfus was based on a copy of a certain secret document . . . alleged to be in his handwriting. Thanks to the investigations of Scheurer-Kestner and Colonel Picquart, it was brought to light in 1897 that the document was in reality the work of Esterhazy, a dissipated major in the French army and a spy in the pay of Germany. . . .

The number of those at home convinced of his innocence grew daily; the novelist Zola arraigned the enemies of justice in an open letter addressed to the president of the republic (which became famous through the phrase constantly repeated "J'Accuse"). . . . All sorts of obstacles were placed in the way of re-opening the case. . . . After the death of President Fauré (1899) . . . Dreyfus was brought back and retried. He was once more condemned. . . . President Loubet granted a pardon. A year later the Court of Cassation quashed the verdict and pronounced Dreyfus innocent.

MAX L. MARGOLIS and ALEXANDER MARX
A History of the Jewish People, p. 702, 703

390. Zola was, all his life, an outspoken opponent of anti-Semitic ideas. He wrote articles in opposition to the anti-Jewish movement initiated by Edouard Drumont. But that which raised his stature to great moral heights, besides his world-wide reputation as a novelist of extraordinary talent was his role in the Dreyfus Affair. In that period (from 1890 on) Zola had reached the zenith of his fame. Like most of the other writers and artists of his time, he lived quietly in the ivory tower, dedicated solely to his literary work. But the injustice done to Captain Alfred Dreyfus of the French Army gave him no rest. With great courage he stepped into . . . the fight for the annulment of the verdict against Dreyfus. His famous letter "J'Accuse" (I Indict) published on January 13, 1897 in George Clemenceau's paper *L'Aurore*, made such a profound impression that the struggle for and against Dreyfus brought France to the brink of civil war. Through his action, Zola won a great number of intellectuals, political leaders and workers for the cause of the revision of the Dreyfus trial. . . .

Zola became the center of the fight in behalf of Dreyfus; threats were made against his life and he was brought before the court, convicted for defamation of the army and sentenced to one year of prison; he went to London at the advice of his friends and in order to continue there the struggle for justice. During that time he fought in all his articles against anti-Semitism. . . .

The triumph gained by Zola and his supporters in the Dreyfus Affair brought to power the French leftist parties, completely annihilated the anti-Semitic movement in France for a half-century and strengthened the democratic forces in Europe. . . . It was Zola who, during the struggle, coined what became a standing saying in France: . . . "Truth is on the march and nothing will ever stop it any more."

New Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. X, p. 671, 672

6. PIERRE VAN PAASSEN (B. 1895)

"Christian Zionist"

391. Author, lecturer and foreign correspondent. . . . His family included a long line of Protestant clergymen on both sides. . . . Author of *Days of Our Years*, *The Time Is Now* and *That Day Alone*. . . .

Van Paassen's interest in the Jews dates from the time when he was with the Atlanta Constitution, in which his editorials on Zionism attracted national attention. . . . He covered the Arab riots in Palestine in 1929, and risked his life in the cause of the Jewish settlers. In a memorable interview he confronted the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem . . . charging him with guilt in instigating the riots and he took up the case of Palestine Jewry directly with Acting High Commissioner H. C. Luke. . . .

Van Paassen was made an honorary citizen of Tel-Aviv. In 1934 a poll of Jewish editors in the U. S. and Canada voted him one of the greatest Christian friends of the Jewish people. . . . From the 1920's on he attended every Zionist World Congress.

New Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. X, p. 393

7. FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT (1882-1945)

"Architect of Peace"

392. His inauguration as the 32nd President of the United States (March 4, 1933) took place within the same week-end during which the Reichstag passed an Enabling Act giving Adolf Hitler absolute power. Within that narrow span of time the two men rose to confront one another and ultimately to struggle against one another. . . .

Because of his role in history Roosevelt's connection with Jewish life was great. Yet it was not a direct connection with Jewish affairs or Jewish problems; its prominence was an outgrowth . . . of the beliefs he defended and signified. Circumstances had made the Jews the immediate butt of tyrannical attacks. In formulating the shield for civilization against these attacks, Roosevelt could not but shield the Jews with seeming primacy, since they had been persecuted with flagrant primacy.

The Roosevelt administration was from the outset unhesitant in condemning the special Nazi excesses against the Jews, as it condemned Nazi cruelties against religious and political liberalism, but international amenities restricted action. In 1933, Roosevelt's orders to William E. Dodd, Ambassador to Germany, were that whatever

could be done to moderate the general persecution by unofficial and personal influence ought to be done. But not until 1938 was Hugh R. Wilson, who had succeeded Dodd, recalled from his post, in protest against the pogroms that occurred in November of that year. Earlier in 1938 (June) Roosevelt had called a 28-Power refugee parley at Evian-les-Bains, France, to discuss possible resettlement opportunities for refugees of all kinds. . . .

With the progressive continuation of persecution in Germany, Roosevelt suggested to the State Department that the many refugees who were in the United States on six-months visitors' visas be granted an indefinite number of extensions of these visas. Their status did not permit them to work, but it saved them from being thrown back to the area of persecution. Roosevelt, making this suggestion, pointed out that a large percentage of these refugees were not Jews.

Another anti-democratic undertone, affecting the Jews as well as other minority groups, which Roosevelt combatted was discrimination in industrial employment. In June 1941, when the country—not yet at war—was under emergency routine he sent a memorandum to . . . the co-administrators of emergency production, stating:

"No nation combatting the increasing threat of totalitarianism can afford arbitrarily to exclude large segments of its population from its defense industries. American workers . . . must be prepared to welcome the general and much needed employment of fellow-workers of all racial and nationality origins in defense industries."

. . . His message to the 77th Congress warned against racial discrimination and its use as a technique to create division within a democracy. . . .

In 1939, he was awarded the "American Hebrew" medal for outstanding service in promoting better understanding between Christians and Jews.

Roosevelt repeatedly expressed his interest in the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine and reiterated that the U. S. had an interest in the handling of the British Mandate over Palestine. In 1940 he was presented with a replica of the Jewish National Fund Golden Book, inscribed in tribute to Roosevelt by nearly 1000 Jewish organizations in the United States.

New Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. IX, p. 194, 196

CHAPTER III

ORGANIZATIONS COMBATTING BIGOTRY

A. JEWISH

The four major Jewish agencies concerned with the problem of protection of Jewish rights are:

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI BRITH
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

The American Jewish Committee is non-Zionist. It is not a mass organization, its membership consisting largely of prominent and wealthy individuals.

The American Jewish Congress is a pro-Zionist group. It is a mass organization and has numerous chapters throughout America. Its membership consists mainly of the middle class. It has been the most frequent sponsor of public mass demonstrations of protest against the Hitler persecution.

The Anti-Defamation League is part of B'nai Brith, the largest Jewish fraternal order in America. Membership is middle class.

The Jewish Labor Committee consists of leaders of labor unions with Jewish membership and of Jewish labor fraternal organizations. Non-Zion.

1. AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

393.

Organized:
November, 1906

National Headquarters:
386—4th Ave., New York

Purpose:

To prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews, in any part of the world; to render all lawful assistance and to take appropriate remedial action in the event of threatened or actual invasion or restriction of such rights, or of unfavorable discrimination with respect thereto; to secure for Jews equality of economic, social and educational opportunity; to alleviate the conse-

quences of persecution and to afford relief from calamities affecting Jews, wherever they may occur; and to compass these ends to administer any relief fund which shall come into its possession or may be received by it, in trust or otherwise, for any of the aforesaid objects or for purposes comprehended therein.

Activities:

Functions through following Committees: — Public Relations, Community Service, Library Research and Publications, Legal; also special committees on Labor, Veterans, and Foreign Language Activities; created Research Institute on Peace and Post-war Problems.

Publications:

Commentary
Committee Reporter
American Jewish Year Book

2. AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

394.

Organized: 1917
 Reorganized: June, 1938

National Headquarters:
 1834 Broadway, New York

Purpose:

a. To secure and maintain equality and opportunity for Jews everywhere, and to safeguard the civil, political, economic and religious rights of Jews everywhere.

b. To develop an articulate, intelligent, widespread, and compelling Jewish opinion touching Jewish interests and problems.

c. To gather and disseminate information concerning such interests and problems and to foster the free and open discussion of them.

d. To procure, extend, and administer prompt and adequate relief for Jews everywhere, in all conditions and emergencies as shall be beyond the scope and means of local agencies.

e. To promote proper cooperation and coordination of all Jewish endeavor conceived in a spirit of self-help, self-expression, and self-determination.

f. To further the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

g. To preserve, maintain, and extend the democratic way of life.

h. To cooperate with other organizations in all efforts for the fulfillment of these purposes.

Activities:

Functions through following departments: Law and Social Action, Community Interrelations, Office of Jewish Information, Community Service, World Jewish Affairs; created Inter-American Jewish Council consisting of representatives from the Jewish communities of the South American Republics; also the Institute of Jewish Affairs, research body engaged in examining facts concerning Jewish life before and during World War II with a view to establishing the basis on which rights may be claimed at the end of the war; is part of the World Jewish Congress.

Publication:

Congress Weekly

3. ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI BRITH

395.

Organized: 1913

National Headquarters:

100 North LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.

New York Office: 212—5th Ave.

Purpose:

To eliminate defamation of Jews and to counteract un-American and anti-Democratic propaganda; to encourage and to advance good will and proper understanding between American groups, with a broad educational program; and to preserve and translate into greater effectiveness the ideals of American democracy.

Activities:

Functions through following committees: Speakers Bureau, Fact Finding, Research, Foreign Language, Labor Dept., Public Relations; through its Book Placement Department, thousands of pro-democratic books are made available to schools, libraries, colleges, etc.; through its Community Service Department, Jewish communities are advised on many matters relating to the elimination of economic and social discrimination.

Publication:

A. D. L. Bulletin

Washington News Letter

4. JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

396.

Organized: 1933

National Headquarters:
175 East Broadway, New York*Purpose:*

To fight Fascism and Nazism, to help the opposition movement in all Fascist countries, to aid Jewish labor institutions overseas, and to prevent the spread of Fascist propaganda in America, to aid labor relief, to represent organized Jewish labor in all Jewish problems.

Activities:

Fosters educational program in American labor aimed to activize them against totalitarian ideologies and to promote racial and religious understanding and tolerance; supplies labor organizations and labor papers with feature articles, etc., aiming to combat bigotry and intolerance; helps rescue labor and liberal leaders of all faiths from Gestapo; raises funds for rescue to alleviate the distress of Jewish and other victims of Nazi aggression; created a postwar planning committee to evolve a labor program of Jewish post-war reconstruction.

*Publications:**Labor Reports*
Unconquered

5. CONFERENCE ON JEWISH RELATIONS, INC.

397.

Organized: May, 1936

National Headquarters:
1841 Broadway, New York, New York*Purpose:*

To promote, by means of scientific studies and research a better understanding of the position of the Jews in the modern world.

Activities:

Makes surveys of Jewish Communities; created Jewish occupational council, central clearing house for all Jewish vocational guidance activities; survey of training and residency facilities offered by Jewish hospitals throughout the country; support of a fellowship at Columbia University for the study of interracial attitudes in American colleges; investigations into the possibilities of Jewish

settlement in various parts of the world; in collaboration with the Joint Distribution Committee, has established a Commission on European Cultural Reconstruction, whose purpose is to assist in the salvage and recuperation of Jewish cultural treasures, and in the reconstruction of Jewish cultural life and institutions in post-war Europe.

Publication:
Jewish Social Studies

6. AMERICAN JEWISH LABOR COUNCIL

398.

Organized: June, 1946

National Headquarters:
22 East 17th Street,
New York, New York

Purpose:

The purpose of the Council is to deal with Jewish affairs for the trade unions affiliated to it. Activities divide themselves into two main fields: 1. combatting anti-Semitism in the United States; 2. helping in the rehabilitation of Jewish people overseas.

7. JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE U. S.

399.

Organized: April, 1896

National Headquarters:
276—5th Ave., New York, New York

Purpose:

To maintain true allegiance to the United States of America.

To uphold the fair name of the Jew, and fight his battles whenever unjustly assailed.

To encourage the doctrine of universal liberty, equal rights, and full justice to all men.

To combat the powers of bigotry and darkness wherever originating, and whatever their target.

To preserve the spirit of comradeship by mutual helpfulness to comrades and their families.

To instill love of Country and Flag.

To preserve the memories and records of patriotic service performed by the men of our faith.

Activities:

Fall into five major categories: War Service; Service to Service-

men; Veterans Rehabilitation; Fight on Anti-Semitism and Un-American Activities; and Americanization program.

Publications:

Jewish Veteran

J. W. V. Reporter

8. NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
400.

Organized: March, 1944

National Headquarters:
295 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Purpose:

The National Community Relations Advisory Council is a coordinating body for the national and local Jewish organizations seeking to combat anti-Semitism and other forms of bigotry. Its major purposes are to effect clearance, coordination, and joint policy formulation among its member organizations. These member organizations include the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; together with twenty-three local and regional Jewish community relations councils in all parts of the country.

Activities:

The work of the NCRAC is carried on largely through a number of standing committees, each of which has responsibility for a defined area of concern. Thus, there are committees on Class Approach, Discrimination in Educational Institutions, Intercultural Education, Interfaith Activities, Religious Education, Non-Sectarian Agencies, Legislative Information, Mass Approach, Overt Anti-Semitism, Employment Discrimination, and Scientific Research Projects. There also is a Committee on Community Consultation which coordinates services to communities seeking assistance in the creation of local community relations programs.

Publications:

NCRAC Information Bulletin

Legislative Information Bulletin

B. NON-SECTARIAN

1. AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS

401.

Founded: May, 1944

National Headquarters:
32 W. Randolph Street,
Chicago, Ill.*Purpose:*

To strengthen our democratic way of life by working for the extension of full rights and opportunities to those citizens now restricted because of race, creed or national origin. The Council has for its objective—Full participation of all citizens in all aspects of American rights; equal rights and equal opportunities.

Activities:

The American Council on Race Relations will work through 3 major divisions:

1. *Community Services*—Assists Mayor's Committees, Community Councils and other local groups in community planning and organization.

2. *Clearing House*—Through clearing house correspondents, accumulates and circularizes facts on important developments, achievements and techniques in race relations.

3. *Information Service*—Issues original materials and works for democratic attitudes in news and entertainment media.

*Publication:**News Letter*

2. BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

402.

Organized, 1934; reorganized, 1939
Formerly known as
Service Bureau of Human RelationsNational Headquarters:
1697 Broadway, New York*Purpose:*

An educational agency committed to long-term educational work with schools so that Americans who are of many different religious beliefs, racial strains, and ethnic origins will live together in harmony and with mutual respect.

Activities:

Works with school administrators and teachers to develop local and city-wide programs of intercultural education; promotes intensive experimentation and study of methods; publishes books for teachers and children, reprints and distributes materials and audio-visual aids suitable for school and community groups; serves as a center for consultation; offers teachers in-service courses in intercultural education, sponsors leadership training and intercultural education workshops.

Publications:

Intercultural Education News

Problems of Race and Culture in American Education Series

3. COMMITTEE OF CATHOLICS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

403.

Founded: June, 1939

National Headquarters:

Reorganized: June, 1944

1775 Broadway, Room 802, New York

Purpose:

To fulfill the mandate proposed for Catholics by the Late Holy Father Pius XI and the Catholic Hierarchy of the U. S., to combat all forms of racial and religious discrimination, anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, anti-minority hatred, to affirm the moral and human rights granted to every individual by his God-given personality and to cooperate in all enterprises, which shall advance the influence of valid moral principles in social and economic relations leading to a further realization in our democracy of the principle and commandment of God "to love thy neighbor as thyself."

Program:

Sponsors Institute of Catholics on Public Affairs in which outstanding American citizens of the Catholic faith in all walks of life will express the positive content of religious and democratic principles and their contribution to the issues of our times; frequent issuances of relevant pamphlets, newsletters, bulletins and public statements "bringing genuine Catholic teaching to our people against all forms of racial and religious intolerance which destroys the moral objectives of Christian and the human ends of democracy"; provides educational programs for schools on intercultural and inter-racial relationships; offers speakers for meetings treating of topics within the scope of activities and cooperates with such groups as will achieve civic unity without expense to the principles of specific faiths.

4. COMMON COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN UNITY

404. 20 W. 40th St., New York, New York
Formerly—Foreign Language Information Service
In 1940 changed name to above.

Purpose:

To promote greater unity and understanding among all Americans; to overcome intolerance and discrimination because of national origin, race or creed; to further an appreciation of what each group has contributed to America; to help the foreign born and their children share fully and constructively in American life.

Activities:

Publishes the magazine *Common Ground*, dealing with inter-group problems; sends weekly educational articles interpreting American life and institutions, in 19 languages, to 1,000 foreign language newspapers and radio stations; assists the foreign born to become citizens and solve problems of status and adjustment; supplies local agencies with technical information needed in advising aliens; co-operates with government agencies on problems relating to nationality groups; maintains the American Common, an intercultural center; follows legislation affecting aliens and minority groups, and takes action on specific issues of discrimination and fair play.

Publication:

Common Ground

5. COUNCIL AGAINST INTOLERANCE

405.
Founded: November, 1938 National Headquarters:
17 E. 42nd St., New York, New York

Purpose:

To combat prejudice in America.

Activities:

Primarily educational. Through rallies, celebrations and other public ceremonies calls attention to American ideals, to American heroes, to American traditions and publicizes the danger to national unity of intolerance of any group within our borders; conducts an educational program which through teachers, administrators and others in educational work, reaches the young people of America; and tends to instill democratic ideas and ideals in the minds of the

students; their publication, *American Unity* has two definite objectives; 1) To give teachers very specific, very practical suggestions on how to consider the problem of intolerance in the classroom; 2) To show the teacher how to discover and counteract the underlying causes of prejudice in the school, the home and the individual.

Publications:

Publications:

American Unity

An American Answer to Intolerance, a manual for Junior and Senior High School Teachers.

We're All Americans, a manual for elementary school teachers.

America a Nation of One People from Many Countries, a map showing where Americans came from, their religion and their means of livelihood.

6. MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON UNITY

406.

Organized: February, 1944

Headquarters:

Municipal Building, Brooklyn

Purpose:

To promote understanding and mutual respect among all racial groups in our city; to correct racial and religious prejudice and develop the common interest of the community in mutual understanding and respect.

Activities:

Observe and study unfavorable conditions and dangerous trends, analyze their causes objectively and suggest necessary remedial steps to combat them.

7. AMERICAN ANTI-BIGOTRY COMMITTEE:

A NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF NON-JEWISH AMERICAN CITIZENS
TO COMBAT ANTI-SEMITISM

Formerly known as THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST NAZI
PERSECUTION AND EXTERMINATION OF THE JEWS

407.

Founded: January, 1944

National Headquarters:
1422 F St., N.W.,
Washington, D. C.

Purposes:

I. To rally the full force of the public conscience in America against the persecution and extermination of Jewish men, women and children of Nazi-occupied Europe, and in support of sustained

vigorous action by our government and the United Nations to rescue those who may yet be saved.

II. To recognize and combat hateful propaganda against American citizens of Jewish descent as a powerful secret Nazi weapon—powerful because it has been deliberately spread to this continent where no Nazi invading force has been able to set foot, and secret because victims so inoculated are often unconscious of the source from which it comes.

III. To bring the power of public opinion to bear in cases where responsible officials condone, commit, or fail to oppose the persecution of Jews, old and young.

IV. To cooperate with like minded groups in other countries such as the "National Committee for Rescue from the Nazi Terror," of which the Archbishop of Canterbury is a member, in mobilizing the peoples of the United Nations in behalf of such a program for rescue and in warning Hitler and his agents in Axis and satellite countries that they will be punished for their crimes against mankind.

8. NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT ANTI-SEMITISM

408.

Founded: 1944

National Headquarters:

100 W. 42 St., New York, New York

Purpose:

1. To speak out openly against anti-Semitism as a fascist weapon.
2. To effect the passage of federal and state legislation making the practice of anti-Semitism a crime.
3. To establish an organization through which all Americans—Christian and Jew, Negro and white—can work together to carry through a militant program to safeguard Democracy from the attacks of organized anti-Semitic groups.

Publication:

Counterattack

9. THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

409.

Founded: 1928

National Headquarters:

381—4th Ave., New York, New York

Purpose:

To promote justice, amity, understanding, and cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews in the United States, and to analyze,

moderate and finally eliminate intergroup prejudices which disfigure and distort religious, business, social and political relations, with the view to the establishment of a social order in which the religious ideals of brotherhood and justice shall become the standards of human relationships.

Activities:

Education is the keynote of the Conference program; sponsors so-called "Trio Teams" and speakers of minister-priest-rabbi, or laymen of the 3 faiths who speak before regular audiences and in Army camps; prepares study materials and program aids for schools and colleges; sponsors annually a Brotherhood Week held during the week of Washington's Birthday; also a Religious Book Week; sponsors round tables in every community which is the permanent local Conference consisting of influential citizens of several religions organized into functional committees.

Publications:

National Conference Bulletin
Conference Quarterly
Human Relations Pamphlets

10. NON-SECTARIAN ANTI-NAZI LEAGUE TO CHAMPION
 HUMAN RIGHTS

410.

Founded: 1933

National Headquarters:

165 W. 46th St., New York, New York

Purpose:

To fight Hitlerism, Nazism, and other forms of totalitarianism, to expose and stop un-American propaganda (especially propaganda tending to set race against race, or religion against religion, or propaganda stemming from Nazi origins), to expose and destroy the economic foundations of such propaganda, to fight economic discrimination, to discover and expose new sources of Fascist-like agitation in any part of the world, and to strengthen the doctrines of true Americanism.

Activities:

Uncovering subversive elements, counteracting un-American propaganda, combating discrimination in war industries and elsewhere. Works through following departments: Economic Research, Education and Public Relations, Bureau of Propaganda Investigation, Organization Department.

The League's postwar program is based on the conclusion that America faces a new outbreak of racist propaganda, like those which followed the conclusion of the Civil War and the First World War. In view of this danger, the League has undertaken a comprehensive program of exposing and answering propagandists of "Nationalist," isolationist, Ku Klux Klan, "soft peace," pan-German, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-Negro, and analogous types—especially those having relations with agitators in other countries.

The League is also devoting major emphasis to securing punishment for war criminals, including domestic propagandists and political agitators whose activities have been helpful to the enemy cause, and is fighting current moves which might lead to reconstruction of cartels of the I. G. Farbenindustries types.

The League also devotes attention to watching the "Nazi underground" and exposing any symptoms of recurrence of its activity.

Publications:

The Anti-Nazi Bulletin
Newsletter

11. REGIONAL ACTION COMMITTEE OF *The Protestant*

411.

Founded: January, 1944

National Headquarters:

521—5th Avenue, New York

Purpose:

Five thousand, four hundred and fifty-nine ministers are pledged to fight anti-Semitism as well as other discrimination through active influence brought directly upon the civil authorities, police courts, etc., to see that justice is done in cases of overt violence.

Publications:

The Protestant and an Action Report issued periodically.

12. THE TEXTBOOK COMMISSION TO ELIMINATE ANTI-SEMITIC
STATEMENTS IN AMERICAN TEXTBOOKS

412.

Founded: November, 1942

National Headquarters:

521—5th Ave., New York, New York

Purpose:

To remove all passages from all textbooks, particularly Christian teaching texts, which are read by American children and which predispose these children towards prejudice against the Jews.

Activities:

Research to discover all anti-Semitic statements in textbooks; organize the Christian leaders of the nation behind the movement; newspaper, radio and public meeting campaigns to inform the people; approach the authorities responsible for the textbooks and work with them to eliminate objectionable passages; legislation to prevent recurrence of such passages.

Publications:

The Challenger, an anti-Fascist comic Magazine.

13. INSTITUTE FOR INTERCULTURAL STUDIES, INC.

413. 15 West 77th Street, New York

Purpose and Activities:

To promote such understanding of the cultural differences between the great nations as may be applied to the construction of world order following the war. The Institute serves as a clearing-house for research and theoretical contributions to understanding of national character. It applies anthropological and psychological techniques to these problems and reviews relevant literature. Under the leadership of the Institute, techniques for the rapid analysis of contemporary great civilizations by the use of living informants have been developed and applied. It circulates this material within a small group of scientific collaborators and a larger group of those who are making applied use of such materials, in governmental and voluntary organizations. The Institute is chiefly concerned with cross-cultural relations, but also with American minorities and problems of assimilating members of foreign cultures in ways which will enrich American culture.

C. POLITICAL AFFAIRS

1. AMERICANS UNITED FOR WORLD ORGANIZATION

414.

Founded: 1944

National Headquarters:

465 Fifth Ave., New York, New York

For the purpose of consolidating the activities of the following organizations: American Free World Assn., Citizens for Victory Committee to Defend America, Fight for Freedom,

United Nations Assn., United Nations Committee for Greater New York.

Purpose:

I. The major purpose of Americans United is to prevent World War III by backing an effective World Organization with automatic power to enforce peace. This requires advance authority for the instant use of armed contingents to stop incipient war.

II. Supplementary objectives, important because they strike at the roots of war, are:

- A. To encourage trade relations and the flow of goods essential to full employment after demobilization.
- B. To fight bias, discrimination and other fascist tendencies, which sow the seeds of war.
- C. To combat subversive activities; and the propaganda of the defeatist minority.
- D. To oppose candidates, regardless of party, who do not subscribe to these principles.
- E. To promote the conviction that a peace worth winning must be based on the ideal of democracy in practice, remembering that tomorrow's peace is being made while today's war is being fought.

Program:

I. The immediate program of Americans United is to organize Town Mass Meetings in cities and towns across the country to register public opinion on the question: Are you in favor of the United States participating in a World Organization with automatic power to enforce the peace?

II. The results of this unofficial but certified national referendum be made known to the country, and to Congress, so it may know the will of the people that a World Organization with *automatic power to act* must be established.

III. The influence of members, action committees, and branches throughout the country is being brought to bear upon Congressmen to make sure the World Charter is ratified with all the implementing legislation necessary to make it work; and that other legislation vital to world organization, such as the Bretton Woods agreements, is passed.

2. AMERICAN YOUTH FOR A FREE WORLD

A CO-ORDINATING COUNCIL OF NATIONAL YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS
CO-OPERATING WITH THE WORLD YOUTH COUNCIL

415.

Founded: 1942

National Headquarters:

144 Bleecker St., New York, New York

Purposes:

1. To help achieve victory over Fascism by expressing and strengthening the ties of friendship and solidarity among freedom-loving youth in all lands.

2. To serve as a dynamic clearing house of activity and information for young people within the United States in cooperation with other youth organizations throughout the world.

3. To initiate and promote projects among youth in the United States, Great Britain, and the Dominions, China, the Soviet Union, Latin America, and other lands, for Victory today, and for a democratic world tomorrow.

4. To think and act together as youth for building a democratic world order after victory is won.

Activities:

Issues bulletins releasing information as to the activities, agreements and convictions of youth groups here and abroad; exchange official youth delegations among the United Nations to dramatize and hasten the development of unity; exchange of news, messages, greetings and correspondence among youth of the world; prepare youth programs and services for youth groups, especially in connection with International Students' Day, November 17th, and World Youth Week, March 21-28; sponsor meetings and conferences of Jewish, Christian, Negro, student, labor, etc., youth organizations for cooperative planning; participation in international youth conference.

3. CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

416.

Founded: 1920

National Headquarters:

170 Fifth Ave., New York, New York

Purpose:

Defend freedom of press, speech and assembly and other rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Activities:

Intervenes with administrative officials for the protection of civil rights; provides volunteer attorneys in cases involving civil liberties; tests ordinances or laws in conflict with constitutional guarantees of civil liberty; promotes legislation to extend civil rights and opposes legislation restricting them.

Publication:

Civil Liberties Quarterly

417.

4. COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

Founded: August, 1940

National Headquarters:

11 W. 42nd St., New York, New York

Purpose:

To inspire the American people with a fighting faith.

To help them understand the difference it will make to everyone of us if we let the Axis take over the world;

To combat the weaknesses of our democracy—intolerance, discrimination in any form, every violation of civil liberties, subversive and defeatist propaganda;

To stimulate and guide practical aid by groups and communities to an all-out war effort and to the defense and strengthening of democracy on the home front.

Activities:

Cooperate actively in community programs to "make democracy work" in the solution of local and national problems; assist other organizations directly and as a clearing house; sponsors conferences on major issues; and sponsor radio programs and news features on the meaning and practice of democracy today; prepares and distributes pro-democratic literature and sponsors a well organized "letter to the Editor" correspondence committee.

418.

5. FRIENDS OF DEMOCRACY

Founded: 1937

National Headquarters:

818 Grand Ave., Kansas City, Missouri

New York Office:

137 E. 57th St., New York, New York

Purpose:

To combat anti-Democratic and pro-Nazi propaganda.

Activities:

1. *Educational:* Through the use of books, national magazines, newspapers, platform addresses, the radio and pamphlets to acquaint the public with the deeper meanings of political and propagandist efforts under the cloak of supernaturalism.

2. *Specific Projects:* Creation of an encyclopedia directory of Fascism in America; to provide a detailed compilation of the anti-Democratic records made by public officials who had followed the pro-Axis propaganda line; the concentrated attack on Fascist-National movements behind "respectable" fronts.

3. *Constructive Effort:* The organization of neighborhood groups; the combatting through these local groups of the effects of enemy planted rumors! collaboration with all other pro-democracy organizations.

*Publication:**Democracy's Battle*

6. FREEDOM HOUSE

419.

Founded: October, 1941

National Headquarters:

20 W. 40th St., New York, New York

Purpose:

To conduct a headquarters in the City of New York to be known as Freedom House and to stand as a symbol and center for the two-fold fight for freedom; to define this two-fold fight both in terms of resisting the totalitarian movement now threatening civilization and in terms of the aspirations of all peoples for a world of freedom, peace and security; to promote the concrete application of the principles of freedom and democracy in the everyday affairs of the U.S.A., governmental and otherwise, so that by sacrifice, intelligence and justice this country can be an example to both the present and post-war world of democracy at its best; to encourage all democracies, including the captive countries, to look to Freedom House in the U.S.A. as a beacon lighting the struggle for a free world; to act as a headquarters and clearing house for organizations enlisted in the fight for freedom, whether at home or abroad; to disseminate literature bearing on the above aims; to serve as a coordinating center for such subordinate centers as may be established anywhere to make the symbolism of Freedom House plain to the world.

To fight against bias, discrimination and all other fascist tenden-

cies at home, while at the same time, promoting the positive aim of international economic and political cooperation to assure peace.

Activities:

Carries out program through meetings, radio broadcasts, newspaper publicity, distribution of important books and speeches; awards annually the "Freedom Award," to an American who has made an important contribution to world peace.

Publication:

Freedom Digest

7. LEAGUE FOR FAIR PLAY

420.

Founded: 1937

National Headquarters:

11 W. 42nd St., New York, New York

Purpose:

To stimulate the maintenance and extension of the American spirit of fair play and tolerance, to encourage adherence to the American spirit of fair play and tolerance, to encourage adherence to the American Constitution and the Bill of Rights, to promulgate the principles of democracy, justice and liberty, and to promote understanding and good will among all creeds, races and classes.

Activities:

Furnishes lecturers for schools, colleges, service clubs, forums, women's organizations, etc. Promotes adoption by communities of the type of education known as the Springfield Plan.

8. NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

421.

Founded: February 1920

National Headquarters:

726 Jackson Pl., N.W.

Washington, D. C.

New York Offices: 461—4th Ave.

Purpose:

To help more citizens accept their responsibility for government; to act, as an organization, on governmental measures in the public interest, in order to encourage citizen participation in democratic government.

Activities:

Through discussion groups and speaker meetings, through the distribution of simple broadsides and pamphlet material, and through direct participation in the processes of government, citizens are encouraged to act on informed opinions on important local and national issues.

Publication:

Trends; also numerous pamphlets and leaflets on important issues of the day.

9. UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

422.

Founded: May 1941

New York Office: 9 E. 46th St.

National Headquarters:
819 Thirteenth St., N.W.,
Washington, D. C.

Purpose:

To preserve and extend democratic values at home and abroad.

Activities:

Through press, radio and forum attempt to bring liberal pressure to bear on the solution of the immediate issues of the day.

Publication:

U.D.A. Congressional Newsletter
U.D.A. Bulletin

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Book IV

HOPE SPRINGS ETERNAL

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CHAPTER I
PROPOSED SOLUTIONS FOR THE PROBLEM OF
ANTI-SEMITISM

1. EDUCATION

423. . . . The only way to fight anti-Jewish propaganda is to first throw the searchlight of truth full flare upon it, to give its history, its motives, its results, the kinds of men responsible for it, its baleful effects on the countries that have been guilty of it, and then to point out that it is a prairie fire which started only to burn up one man's field and may destroy a whole territory.

JUDGE WILLIAM HARMAN BLACK
If I Were a Jew, p. 282

424. Faith will move a mountain. . . . It hasn't dislodged prejudice. But I think education could. . . .

. . . I might mention a play which has been extremely harmful in establishing race prejudice in the minds of school boys and girls . . . Shylock. . . . It is . . . true that Shakespeare has given the Jew some stirring lines of protest against prejudice. And yet there can be no doubt that Shakespeare wrote for an audience which was almost entirely anti-Jewish. . . . The eloquence of Shylock in anguish undoubtedly shot over the heads of an Elizabethan audience, just as today it shoots over the head of the pupil in High School or Grammar School. He will not go away remembering:

"Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands? organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed by the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same Winter and Summer as a Christian is?"

He is more likely to be impressed with the fact that Shylock is avaricious, revengeful and cruel. . . . It would be an excellent day's work to remove the *Merchant of Venice* from all schools and leave it as required reading only for mature students.

HEYWOOD BROWN and GEORGE BRITT
Christians Only, p. 308, 321, 322

425. To hold any grudge, or to cherish any prejudice and hate against Jews as a group, because Jesus was slain in Jerusalem would be as foolish, as incredible, as to despise and persecute Greeks today because Socrates was made to drink the hemlock in Athens, or modern Englishmen and Frenchmen because Joan was burned at Rouen, or to assail my own countrymen because the fathers of men now living hanged John Brown at Charleston. . . . There are few superstitions in history more monstrous than this, and none which has produced a more ghastly harvest of agony and blood. Its cure, or prevention, as in my own experience, is simply right knowledge.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Through Gentile Eyes, p. 78, 79

426. No procedure undertaken today will deeply affect the basic attitudes of our adult population. At most, we can hope for a submerging of prejudices through an intellectualized decision that these attitudes are wrong. But it will be a submerging, not an annihilation of bias.

We can, however, try to rear our children in an atmosphere in which prejudice will be taught neither by primary instruction nor by secondary learning. We can see that the forces which feed xenophobia are destroyed so that these children may carry their open-mindedness throughout their lives, and transmit this freedom to their descendants.

HENRY A. DAVIDSON

Common Ground, Winter, 1941

427. I look to education to lead the fight against anti-Semitism. I believe that hate and fear spring mainly from ignorance, from half-truths, from a misjudgment of real or imagined differences between races and creeds.

If there is to be true democracy in America we must learn about each other. We must recognize the equal rights of all when people try to help each other. When the customs of others become familiar, when we learn to live intelligently together, many sources of friction will disappear.

I don't mean education in the usual sense. Schools, community groups, churches, chambers of commerce, labor unions, women's organizations—all must participate. There must be planned programs, and a conscious persistent effort to eliminate prejudice.

ARTHUR G. KLEIN

Quoted in *The Jewish Forum*, March, 1944

428. Moral indignation is not enough to combat religious and racial intolerance. . . . Homes, schools and churches must cooperate to remove this evil from our midst. Sympathy, understanding and general good-will are indispensable requisites for peaceful and happy human relations.

BISHOP THOMAS A. MOLLOY

Quoted in *The New York Post*, January 14, 1944

429. It must be spread everywhere, in the schools, in the factories, in the press and on the radio. If we want to cure men of the spiritual corruption of racism and anti-Semitism we must ever remind them that they were born for freedom and that they are equal before the law, and that they receive from natural law inviolable rights and infrangible duties. And let us ever remind them that God is truth and love, let us remind them of the unity of mankind and of the spiritual dignity of the human person, of the sovereign law of brotherly love, of all that the gospel has taught us, not only for eternal life, but also for the earthly life of individuals and peoples.

JACQUES MARITAIN

The Commonweal, June 4, 1943

430. A child can be raised for tolerance, free from race hatred. And such action, in terms of children, will help the parents too; what they are, the child will mirror; they must change themselves if they are to be successful . . . let me list a few simple rules. . . .

Firstly: Never use derogatory terms; never think them if possible, never permit them to be used in your home. A Negro is simply that, or he's a colored person. A Jew is a Jew, not a kike, not a sheeny. An Italian is an Italian, not a wop. An Irishman is that—not a mick. A Pole is a Pole—not a hunky. . . .

Secondly: Don't discriminate in your casual conversation. If you know a Jew, don't refer to him as "that Jew." If you have Irish neighbors, don't refer to them as "those Irish." If you speak of a Negro to a third person, refer to him by his name, not as "that Negro, Jones."

Thirdly: Don't suggest religious or race differences to your children. If Johnny is playing with a new boy, don't ask Johnny whether the boy is a Baptist or a Catholic; Johnny will find out soon enough, and if he thinks it of any importance, he will tell you. . . . Don't try to isolate Johnny; he's going to live in a country of Negroes, Jews, Italians, and a dozen other minorities; and he wouldn't play with their children if he didn't think they were fit associates.

Fourthly: Don't bear the anti-Negro or anti-Semitic or anti-Catholic story in embarrassed silence; talk up hotly and intelligently, and if it means losing a friend—and not a too worth-while one—it also means shaping your listening children into better human material.

HOWARD FAST

Harper's Bazaar, June, 1944

431. The way to avoid narrow mindedness, bigotry and prejudice is for the people to know each other. Here in New York we have demonstrated to the world that the people of every religion and coming from nearly every country of the entire world can live together happily, in peace and as good neighbors.

We must not permit the individual act of any vicious person or the attempts of any mean un-American group to create dissension among our people. By getting together and talking these matters over and above all things, by setting a good example in public as well as in our homes before our children, we will do a great deal to put to shame the few contemptible individuals who would bring dissension among our people.

FIORIELLO H. LA GUARDIA

432. My remedy lies . . . in education—always a long, slow and painful process, but nevertheless, the only one that in the long run can prevail over prejudices and unreason. . . . Anti-Semitism is only one manifestation of prejudice and intolerance based on economic, racial, creedal and other differences. The only way these prejudices will be overcome is through a constantly conducted program leading to better understanding based upon a frank facing of present difficulties and a clearer view of the happenings in history that have brought about the present difficulties.

MORSE A. CARTWRIGHT

Jewish Forum, March, 1944

433. The press . . . has a task. It is charged with the responsibility of presenting effectively and fairly the news of the world. It has the obligation of painting the picture of the passing scene so that no injustice will be done to any race or any creed. It has the duty in these dark days, when the totalitarian enemies of the Jewish people have made an issue of anti-Semitism, of helping to remove discrimination by bringing to the fore in the factual presentation of the news, the broad ideals of the Jews. The press must lose no opportunity to show that Jewish principles are invariably in harmony with the highest ideals of true Americanism. . . .

It is, therefore, of primary importance that the press live up to the privilege granted to it in this democracy of ours, and therein

will lie the safety of not alone the Jews, but of all the peoples, parties and religions. A free press, free speech, and the right of assembly are our guarantees, and the newspapers must be alert to see that there is no encroachment on these rights.

FRANK D. SCHROTH
Jewish Forum, January, 1941

434. It must be obvious that ultimately neither biological aversion nor advocates of anti-Semitism, but socio-economic institutions, are responsible for the antipathy, and that it will not be abolished without the abolition of conditions that provoke aggression through superfluous frustration. . . . It is worth considering the use of conditioning and unconditioning in order to discredit the apostles of anti-Semitism, and thereby to discredit their doctrine. . . . In conditioning, which is what we are after, there is no logic.

One of the most influential vehicles for conditioning is the movies, which have the enormous advantage of recreational and entertainment value for the multitude. The same cannot be said for literature, which is neither as popular nor as emotionally impressive. Although literature should be utilized, the movies come first.

. . . The Jew, like any other handicapped minority, should be treated in the movies without sentiment or favor and simply as a human being to be understood in relation to the everyday problems of living, under the special conditions that arise from his being a Jew and all which that implies. . . . What is needed is sensitive handling, with a due regard for the ordinary lives of common people among whom the Jew belongs, so that in Gentile thinking a Jew shall become appurtenant to emotional situations that are universally irresistible. . . . It must be emphasized that the movies are only one possible weapon in a campaign which must be waged on numerous fronts. The most important enterprise for the elimination of anti-Semitism consists of the effort to reduce socially provoked frustration in all the members of the community. Therein lie the basic issue and the cause of the extremely slow progress which may be expected. For this effort the reformer need not expect to be able to run through open doors.

ELLIS FREEMAN
Jews in a Gentile World, p. 169, 170, 171

2. DEMOCRACY

435. Coupled with such direct and unequivocal measures of counter-education, we should deal with the affirmative tasks of making democracy work better. That includes unyielding loyalty to the observance of the spirit of the Bill of Rights, as well as to the letter

of its guarantees of civil and religious liberties. Our task includes a definite program of education of the young and reeducation of the old in the principles and in the practices of tolerance. . . . The common ground upon which all Americans may walk must be pointed out, the differences between men minimized, the fundamental similarities emphasized.

If American democracy is to endure, it must irrevocably be based on the solid foundations of an ever-broadening program of social justice, tolerance and regard for the common welfare. The application of these principles and continued devotion to the American republican system of government, require vigilance, self-imposed discipline and a genuine belief in the brotherhood of all men under God.

J. C. HYMAN

Survey Graphic, February, 1939

436. . . . We should act on the cardinal doctrine of American citizenship, and treat a man simply as such, holding him in high or low esteem, according as his character demands it, whether he be Jew or Gentile, Protestant or Catholic.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

The American Hebrew, April, 1890

437. Any real attempt to tackle anti-Semitism must be something more than a combined sectarian effort. It is a task for all Americans, united in a common desire, to prevent religious differences and alleged antagonism from entering into our economic and political life and to educate and raise the standard of living of those millions who have nothing to lose and much to hate. In short, we can destroy anti-Semitism (and its variable surrogates—anti-Catholicism and anti-alienism and anti-trade-unionism)—by making democracy work.

LEO W. SCHWARTZ

Where Hope Lies, p. xiii

438. The only hope of burning through the fog of race-hatred or of halting its spread is to strengthen every democratic force in the country. The future of the Jew in America is tied tight into the future of democracy and that in turn depends upon a successful resistance to reaction. . . .

New Republic, August 20, 1938

439. . . . There is no better hope than constant democratic vigilance. It seems one of the most important tasks of constitutional democracy to defend itself effectively against those who would stir up and aggravate group antagonism. . . . If we consider attentively the major concomitants of the rise of modern anti-Semitism, it be-

comes very clear that only a broadly conceived progressive policy of extending democracy, both at home and abroad, would bring us nearer a stable and harmonious relationship between Jew and Gentile.

CARL J. FRIEDRICH

Jews in a Gentile World, p. 15, 16, 18

440. Anti-Semitism cannot be curbed by apology—it can be fought only by vigorous espousal of democratic ideals.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER

Jewish Forum, October, 1943

441. The Jews must realize that a divided, isolated Jewry cannot combat the united offensive of reaction and anti-Semitism. Organizational divisions among the Jews render the Jews inefficient and impotent in the face of the growing menace of anti-Semitism. At the present critical time the Jews must work for the broadest possible unity to combat Fascism and anti-Semitism. Only such a unity will enable the Jews of America to meet the rising tide of Jew-baiting and discrimination.

But the unity of the Jews is not enough. The Jews must realize that their future is linked with the future of democracy in America. Separatism and isolationism strengthen the hands of the reactionaries. Only a strong and broad Democratic Front, uniting labor, sections of the middle-class, the Negroes, Jews and Catholics and the national groups in the U.S.A. can effectively combat the Fascist and anti-Semitic forces in the United States. The Jews of America must participate in and build the Democratic Front as the best assurance of combatting anti-Semitism while conducting specific campaigns against discrimination, restrictions on Jewish students in the colleges and every other manifestation of anti-Semitism in America. Anti-Semitism must be brought out into the open, fought and defeated by all of progressive America.

JOHN ARNOLD

Jewish Life, May, 1938

442. What can be done to stem the mountain-tide of anti-Semitism? Only one thing, in my estimation: Let the Jews appeal to civilization. Let the Jewish voice sing through the universe. Not only for the sake of Jewish self-preservation, but to prevent the utter shame of anti-Semitic barbarism from staining the honor of civilization in its entirety. Barbarianism knows of no armistice of mercy. In self-defense, let the Jews therefore place their case before civilization.

HENRI BERGSON

Quoted by Max Hunterberg, in *Tragedy of the Ages*, p. 157

443. Social changes which will bring about good manners in intercultural relations should be on the "must" list of educational duties for the family, the school and the church. Teach that when a country is kept a land of opportunity for members of every race and culture, men and women of each background can contribute and enrich a common civilization with their own aptitudes. Insofar as opportunity is blocked, tensions grow on both sides. . . . Then human relations are poisoned, strength and morale are weakened, and the arts of life deteriorate. The lesson is plain. Let America keep its promises of equality of opportunities. We will extend them. We will back the civil liberties of all people. Each citizen will live at his best, and help each citizen of every other culture to live at his best.

EVERETT R. CLINCHY

The World We Want to Live In, p. 14, 15

3. ZIONISM

444. The solution of the Jewish question after the war should be properly started with a solemn reiteration of the principle of the full equality of all citizens in all civilized nations. However, the psychological and economic realities being what they are, this declaration of equality could not possibly result in real equality and could not stem the way toward a resurgence of militant anti-Semitism. Therefore, an opportunity should be granted to all those Jews of the threatened European zone, who wish to emigrate, to leave that zone forthwith.

Only a rapid emigration in large numbers would sufficiently reduce the tension to solve the question in that zone.

The world has become so allergic to Jewish immigration that even these liberals saw themselves forced to stop the stream of emigration in order to prevent a further rise of anti-Jewish and intolerant feelings. This condition prevails in every single country of the Western Hemisphere, and the economic dislocation that is certain to come after the war will only further complicate the situation.

Therefore, a distinct territory, such as Palestine, will have to be allotted to the prospective Jewish emigrants to be set up as a predominantly Jewish State. Only then would Jewish emigration from the zone of anti-Semitism be prevented from resulting in the wholesale transportation of that Jewish problem into new countries.

WYTHE WILLIAMS

Riddle of the Reich, p. 162, 164, 165

445. The one hopeful aspect on the dark Jewish horizon is that there is a home—there is Palestine. Where could Jews go in this world of closed doors if it were not for the Homeland? What hope would sustain them when they find that even now, in the very midst of this war for the Four Freedoms, the friendliest nations have made it plain that they will not welcome Jewish immigration when the war ends? With Palestine to turn to, European Jewry will survive this war. Without it, their fate would be sealed. . . .

The establishment of a Jewish homeland approaches the Jewish problem positively, constructively. . . . In Palestine the Jews have come to the land of their own choice, to the soil which their own people have forever hallowed, to the one land where they belong, in Churchill's immortal phrase—"as of right and not of suffrance." Immigration to Palestine for a Jew is a positive act of faith, not a negative escape from fate. . . . It is an instrument of the renaissance of his people. . . .

The leaders of the United Nations must accept the fact that Palestine is indispensable for the solution of the European Jewish problem. They will find it less costly in money, blood and irritation to act boldly in this direction than to indulge in a number of fantastic and futile schemes. . . . For experts agree that with adequate political guarantees and economic assistance, millions of dispossessed Jews can find a home in Palestine. Nearly half the land is still uninhabited and can absorb more Jews in agriculture than are already deriving a livelihood from it. There are unlimited economic possibilities in industry and commerce . . . vast irrigation projects . . . can make of the land another Southern California, as rich in resources, as fertile in soil, as full in population.

RABBI PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN
New Republic, April 26, 1943

446. . . . The establishment of a center in Palestine will revise the ancient prejudices against the race of wanderers, who have been without a point of moorage for many centuries. The Jews in the Diaspora will continue their allegiance to their native lands and yet will be attached emotionally to the country where the Jewish spirit will come home once again to roost.

Thus Zionism and social change can alone serve to combat the evils of anti-Semitism, the latter by removing the causes that call it into being and the former by restoring to the Jewish people a sense of equality and of equilibrium. Good will movements, counter-

propaganda and the efforts at educating the world at large, while they are commendable in themselves, cannot be effective in the long run in stemming the tide of hatred and persecution. We must utilize these means as well for whatever momentary good they may bring. Ultimately, however, a new type of society which will acknowledge the right of the Jew to a home will alone guarantee the demise of anti-Semitism.

HARRY ESSRIG

How to Combat Anti-Semitism in America, p. 69

447. Now, what is the solution . . . in Jewish life? There is but one solution for national homelessness, which is the source, I repeat, of our millennial tragedy. There is but one solution for national homelessness. That is a national home! Not new immigration opportunities to other countries for fleeing refugees, for new colonization schemes in other parts of the world, many of which were so hopefully attempted in the last few decades, down to our very own day, and with such little success. The only solution is to normalize the political status of the Jewish people in the world by giving it a national basis in its national historic home. . . .

The resurrection of the Jewish people as a nation in its homeland is not a playful political conceit of ours, a sort of intellectual thing calculated to satisfy some national vanity of ours. It is the core of despair of a people driven to the wall, fighting for its very life. It is the pressing urgency of instant and current suffering and of the besetting dangers and disabilities today and, I am afraid, tomorrow.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Jewish Spectator, October, 1943

448. Anti-Semitism will not end entirely in Europe with the defeat of Nazi Germany and her partners in crime. It certainly will not end in those European nations where it existed before the Axis came to power. The defeat of the Axis nations will not bring much peace to the Jews of all of Europe. War does not create human beings of a higher moral order. It will take a long, long time before all of Christendom becomes civilized enough to treat all minority groups, including Jews, with greater generosity than they did heretofore. But whatever happens with the defeat of the Axis nations, I believe that Jews of all nations and all classes owe to themselves and future generations of Jews to create a homeland for their less fortunate people. This will save them from being in the future scapegoats for unenlightened Christian majorities.

AMOS J. DUSHAW

Anti-Semitism: The Voice of Folly and Destruction, p. 110, 111

449. I offer "a" solution rather than "the" solution to the problem of anti-Semitism precisely because a prerequisite for any solution for a basic social problem is the understanding that there is no perfect satisfactory formula. . . .

We must . . . preserve and if possible extend the democratic standards of tolerance and of cultural and racial pluralism which allow the Jews "Lebensraum" as a nation among nations. We must on the other hand support more generously than in the past the legitimate aspiration of Jews for a "homeland" in which they will not be simply tolerated but which they will possess. . . .

The Jews require a homeland, if for no other reason, because even the most generous immigration laws of the Western democracies will not permit all the dispossessed Jews of Europe to find a haven in which they may look forward to a tolerable future. . . .

A much mightier justification of Zionism is that every race finally has a right to a homeland where it will not be "different," where it will neither be patronized by "good" people nor subjected to calumny by bad people.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

The Nation, February 28, 1942

450. There is no inconsistency between loyalty to America and loyalty to Jewry. The Jewish spirit, the product of our religion and experiences, is essentially modern and essentially American. . . . America's fundamental law seeks to make real the brotherhood of man. That brotherhood became the Jewish fundamental law more than 2500 years ago. America's insistent demand in the twentieth century is for social justice. That also has been the Jews' striving for ages. . . . Indeed, loyalty to America demands rather that each American Jew become a Zionist.

But we have also an immediate and more pressing duty in the performance of which Zionism alone seems capable of affording effective aid. We must protect Americans ourselves from demoralization, which has to some extent already set in among American Jews. The cause of this demoralization is clear. It results in large part, from the fact that in our land of liberty all the restraints by which Jews were protected in their ghettos were removed and a new generation left without necessary moral and spiritual support. And is it not equally clear what the only possible remedy is? It is the laborious task of inculcating self-respect—a task which can be accomplished only by restoring the ties of the Jew to the noble past of his race, and by making him realize the possibilities of a no less glorious future. The sole bulwark against demoralization is to develop in

each new generation of Jews in America, a sense of "noblesse oblige." That spirit can be developed in those who regard their race as destined to live with a bright future. That spirit can best be developed by actively participating in some way in furthering the ideals of the Jewish renaissance; and this can be done effectively only through furthering the Zionist movement. LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

The Jewish Problem: How to Solve It, p. 14, 15

451. Whatever the Arabs gained—and it was a great deal—as a result of the last war; whatever they may gain—and they have already gained something, and will gain more—as a result of this one, they owe, and will owe, entirely to the democracies. It is therefore for the democracies to proclaim the justice of the Jewish claim to their commonwealth in Palestine. There is nothing new in this principle. It was implicit in the Balfour Declaration; it was reaffirmed by the Peel Commission. And we have now acquired the invaluable experience of the last twenty years, which has proved beyond doubt that when the Jew is reunited with the soil of Palestine energies are released in him which have been stored up and suppressed for thousands of years—energies which, given an outlet, can create values which may be of service even to richer and more fortunate countries.

To sum up. The Arabs will greatly profit from a British victory by obtaining independence in Syria and Libya, and as large a measure of national unity as they themselves are capable of achieving. On the other hand, it is essential to obtain such a settlement in Palestine as will help to solve the Jewish problem—one of the most disturbing problems in the world. The Arabs must, therefore, be clearly told that the Jews will be encouraged to settle in Palestine, and will control their own immigration; that here Jews who so desire will be able to achieve their freedom and self-government by establishing a state of their own, and ceasing to be a minority dependent on the will and pleasure of other nations.

In that state there will be complete civil and political equality of rights for all citizens, without distinction of race or religion, and, in addition, the Arabs will enjoy full autonomy in their own internal affairs. But if any Arabs do not wish to remain in a Jewish state, every facility will be given to them to transfer to one of the many and vast Arab countries. Considering the strategic and economic importance of Palestine, the inclusion of the Jewish state within the British Commonwealth of Nations would be to the interest of both.

But we should also be ready, if necessary, to consider joining, under proper safeguards, in federation with Arab states.

A Jewish state in Palestine would be more than merely the necessary means of securing further Jewish immigration and development. It is a moral need and postulate, and it would be a very decisive step towards normality and true emancipation. I believe that after the war Jews everywhere can gain in status and security only through the rise of a Jewish state and this would be especially the case if that state is a part of the British Commonwealth.

CHAIM WEIZMANN

Foreign Affairs, January, 1942

452. Dr. Theodor Herzl and other Jewish thinkers who founded the modern Zionist movement, therefore said to the nations of the world: "The real solution of your Jewish problem lies in giving back to us Jews our own home-land. Not all the Jews would return to this land, and you would not rid yourselves of all your Jews. But you would relieve yourselves of your acute Jewish problem by making it possible for many Jews to emigrate to their own home-land in order to escape ill-will. If, like Russia, you persecute the Jews living in your land, then the Jews who wished to escape persecution at your hands could take refuge in their own land and be safe in their own home, instead of going to some other land and becoming a problem there. At the present time, since we Jews have no home, persecuting Russia drives us out and we go perforce to Germany, to Switzerland, to France, to England, to America and to other countries, and eventually grow numerous there like our ancestors in Egypt. . . . We wish to avoid being driven round the world in a vicious circle, like schnorrers who are sent on from village to village and from town to town because no one wishes them to stay and no one gives them a welcome. If therefore, you nations of the world really wish to know how to solve this Jewish problem, which seems to you to be so difficult and which troubles you so sorely, we can tell you how this can be done very simply:—give to us or sell to us or allow us to gain control of our own home-land so that we need not crowd into your lands. You will then be the happier and we shall be the happier. We ask for a fair opportunity of living in our own land without being obliged to take up our residence with you if you do not desire us. We do not ask a favor, we ask justice. But we can never be satisfied with a land of refuge in East Africa or South America. There is only one land that we call ours, and that is the

land of our home, the land of our ancestors, the land made sacred by our past and by our Bible, by all our traditions, by our prayers and our tears, the Promised Land, the land of Palestine. If we can be given the opportunity to make that land our own, we shall solve for you the Jewish problem of which you complain." . . .

To sum up: The Zionist finds the solution of the fourfold Jewish problem in the re-creation of a Jewish home-land in Palestine.

(i) This would greatly relieve the non-Jewish world of its Jewish problem.

(ii) This would give to the Jew who felt unequal to solving the physical Jewish problem in a non-Jewish land the opportunity of going to his own Jewish land, where he would not have to fight prejudice and hostility throughout life because he is a Jew, but where he would be a Jew at all times, naturally and normally.

(iii) This would give to the Jew who was not content to sell his mind and abilities to others the opportunity of gaining Jewish knowledge, of talking, writing, reading and thinking Jewishly, and of devoting himself with all his energies and talent to the cause of his Jewish people.

(iv) This would give to the Jew who despaired of being able to live a truly Jewish life in non-Jewish surroundings the opportunity of living a full, frank and free Jewish life in a Jewish land.

This re-creation of a Jewish national home center not only would do these things, it has already commenced to do these things even though the center consists at present of only a handful of colonies in Palestine. Yet that little Zionist center in Palestine has put into us new life, new hope, new spirit and new belief in ourselves, even though we are living far from it. The solution of the Jewish problem that Zionism offers is no dream or empty theory. It faces the facts and is proving itself to be the long looked-for solution of the Jewish problem. Without Zionism the days of the Jewish people are numbered. With Zionism we shall survive through all generations to bear witness as an eternal people to the purpose and love of the eternal God.

D. DE SOLA POOL

The Jewish Problem, p. 5, 11

453. The aim of Zionism, a movement which has now spread among the Jews all over the world, is to make it possible for the Jews in all countries to emigrate and to form a United Nation and a Jewish State in Palestine. This is the one and only radical remedy possible for the present, for considering the small degree of en-

lightenment and of humanity to be met with today, it will take a long time before one may count upon peace and justice.

In Zionism lies the remedy, the deliverance and the salvation of the Jews and it ought to be the common aim of all the Jews and Christian philanthropists to carry it through all possible means.

COUNT HEINRICH COUDENHOVE-KALERGI
Anti-Semitism Throughout the Ages, p. 206, 211

4. CHURCH, RELIGION, CHRISTIANITY

454. . . . The task to be done is to destroy anti-Semitism at its place of origin—Christian tradition. It is a job the Christians must do themselves, and every consideration of religion, fairness and humanity cries out that it be done at once. The Christian sacred story need not be told in a way that it breeds Jew hatred. On the contrary, every basic tenet of Christianity demands that it be told in the spirit of tolerance and love for all. . . . Special efforts are in order by all Christian leaders to prevent the spread of un-Christian hatred and intolerance and to atone for the centuries of persecution which they have—naively and ignorantly perhaps—visited on the Jews.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT
How to Combat Anti-Semitism in America, p. 22

455. Here in the United States let every Church stand up for the rights, dignity and good name of every other religious group. It is highly desirable that American Catholics, Jews and Protestants keep alive a collective community sense, for religious freedom is a common cause of free men. . . . The Church must cry out against injustice. . . . This sort of cooperation and joint consultation on social justice questions between leaders of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Synagogue Council of America, and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America have become one of the important religious phenomena of the twentieth century.

EVERETT R. CLINCHY
Survey Graphic, February, 1939

456. The normal function of the Church is to teach what is conserved in its own illustrious spiritual heritage. And I am convinced that no part of this heritage is more alive or more important than are the following age-old derivatives from its creed—that human personality is in its deepest essence inviolably free; that every

man is endowed with certain basic rights founded in the very nature of things; and that there is a code of justice—of wrong-doing—not subject to statutory change. . . . If then, the charter of human rights and liberties is taught as something established by Divine edict, something that cannot be swept aside because God himself does not pass, those who believe in God will never doubt its validity. Let this be the core of Christian ethics in the present dark hour (and I'm glad to say here that the Catholic bishops have already taken steps to see to it that such teaching shall become a part of the elementary religious instruction), and the average person will realize more profoundly than heretofore he could that liberty of conscience and of conduct in the light of reason cannot be abrogated, that governments are not free to regard their subjects as cogs in a machine, and that a minority viewed as troublesome cannot simply be crushed underfoot. . . . It seems to me that the Church in America will not fail to rise to the task.

GEORGE N. SHUSTER

Survey Graphic, February, 1939

457. If the task of ridding America of anti-Semitism belongs to the Christian Churches, then what should be the procedure? The writer suggests four elements in the answer to this question.

I. We should make it clear that current anti-Semitism is actually a part of the attack on all religious and human rights.

II. We can teach a recognition of the common elements in Christianity and Judaism and a realization of our own debt to the Jewish people.

III. We can insist on a Christian search for the truth about the Jewish people. . . . If we were to do so we would discover such things as these:

1. Jews do not control the economic life in America.
2. Jews are loyal citizens wherever found.
3. Jews exhibit essentially the same human characteristics as non-Jews.

IV. We can give Christian demonstration to the Jewish people of America of our respect and appreciation. . . . Christians can demonstrate to our Jewish brethren that we condemn all persecutions and discrimination and that we stand with them in the battle against barbarism and paganism.

WILLARD JOHNSON

Religious Digest, June, 1941

458. In closing, I would make this simple, practical suggestion: Let the Protestant ministry agree to bar anyone from the use of the sacraments of the Church who in any manner engages in agitation against his Jewish fellow-citizens, who in any fashion lends himself to the nefarious crime of anti-Semitism; let the leaders of the Catholic hierarchy from the Cardinal to the parish-priest, declare to their people that anti-Semitism is a mortal sin, and that anyone guilty of this sin against the great Commandment will be excommunicated. If this is done, I guarantee that the temperature of this particular form of irreligious and immoral practice will drop at once and at a most surprising speed, and if this course is continued and such action by Church leaders is further implemented by truly Christian preaching and teaching, anti-Semitism will soon be reduced to a minor and insignificant phenomenon in our corporate life.

KARL M. CHWOROWSKY
The Protestant, March, 1944

459. You cannot make your opposition to anti-Semitism effective simply by abstaining from unjust or unfair discriminations and prejudices. . . . You can take a positive Christian and American stand in defense of justice and equal treatment. . . . You can fight the plague with the Golden Rule. You can strive for a sense of proportion. You can show your sympathy and your friendliness to individual Jews who sorely need comfort and reassurance in days like these. You can get their viewpoint and learn to differentiate between individual bad manners—and worse—and the qualities of the group. We can all profit from reminding ourselves that anti-Semitism in any form is treason to our democratic heritage and to the Kingdom of God whose words tell us plainly: "If a man say I love God and hateth his brother, he is a liar and truth is not in him."

HENRY SMITH LEIPER
From a sermon, 1941

460. . . . When Christendom is prepared to defend the rights of the Jew, then, and not before, it will have given proof that it is in a condition to defend its own rights, as it has to defend them today against an enemy as much intent upon the destruction of Christianity, as it is intent upon the destruction of Judaism. . . .

SIR NORMAN ANGELL
Congress Weekly, May 8, 1942

461. In the first place, we can revise, amend and strengthen our statutes against criminal libel. . . .

In the second place, the sincere and thoughtful Christians should give an earnest consideration to the treatment of the trial and execution of Jesus in the Catholic school books. This matter has of late received some attention, but eminent Catholic churchmen are loath to do something about it. Protestant leaders are reluctant to embarrass or irritate the Catholic leaders. But these are trivial doubts or fears. The question is too grave for evasion out of courtesy. No textbook should be approved if it distorts the facts of history, the ascertainable truth. The story of Jesus should be told honestly and fairly, and the responsibility for the crucifixion should be placed where it rightly belongs. The Jews as a people, or group, are certainly not responsible for that crime. The few high priests who judged and condemned Jesus for blasphemy had no power to punish him in any way. The Roman authorities alone had that power, and the alleged blasphemy did not concern them. They condemned Jesus because they regarded him as a rebel, a dangerous agitator, a would-be "King of the Jews." How can the Jewish masses be held accountable for that cowardly and stupid action? . . .

In short, the way to combat anti-Semitism and other un-American and anti-social movements is to combat them vigorously, boldly and openly, and to demand all proper legal and moral measures that promise to suppress them in the interest of decency and mutual confidence and respect

VICTOR S. YARROS

Congress Weekly, April 16, 1943

462. When the Christian world has learned modesty and humility in its own self-estimate, the Hebrew will partake of the general benefit which will accrue to humanity. Until that time comes he must expect to share the epithets and the general condemnation which most of the Christian Churches bestow on the vast majority of mankind.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

The American Hebrew, April 4, 1890

463. The best schools in the world cannot teach tolerance to its pupils and have it stick if the children come from homes where parents speak of a neighbor in disparaging terms. . . . We must have the cooperation of the parents in order to instill tolerance in our children. . . . Parents . . . in our homes must set the good example.

. . . The trouble in the churches . . . is that they do not talk in

terms that are really understood by the people, because they fail to bring the words that they say down to the things that are happening right around us. They talk about what happened in the time of Solomon or in the early days of the New Testament, but they do not talk about the outrages which are happening here in New York City. The anti-Semitic outbreaks, the riots that we had . . . in Harlem. . . .

It seems to me that the duty of the Churches as well as the schools is to bring these outrages to the attention of the people, and let the people understand that they are responsible. We are responsible if we allow those things to continue. . . .

. . . The way of democracy is not by talking about it; not to preach about it, but to live it; not to say "everybody is my equal," but to really live it in our play, in our work, in our studies.

JOHANNA LINDLOF

From a public address, 1944

464. The chief responsibility for fighting anti-Semitism rests with the Christian Church in America. We must not be satisfied with resolutions of regret, or expressions of good will and sympathy. It is a sad admission to make, but the facts are that the principal centers of this wave of hate are in a number of large churches in Detroit, Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New York, and other, less important cities, and that they are all tied together in a method of propaganda, an exchange of pulpits, ideas, preachers, and agitators, as well as funds to "carry on." . . .

With the exception of a noisy few, the real leaders of the Church in America are taking this problem to heart in a most serious mood. . . . We cannot guarantee "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" to any group in any land or any individual in any group unless we make possible these blessings to "all the men in all the lands." This basic belief, of all who seek the common good, and "strive to do justly, love mercy and walk humbly with God," can be vindicated by a concerted and united effort to disown and preach against this dangerous propaganda as the very essence of all that is anti-Christian, anti-Democratic and inhuman.

HENRY A. ATKINSON

Opinion, December, 1943

465. . . . We will have no more anti-Semitism when Jews cease to be Jews and Christians cease to be Christians.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

Quoted by Alfred A. Gross, *The Churchman*, November 15, 1938

466. It is comforting to hear another Christian leader declare that anti-Semitism is a Christian problem and the responsibility for combatting this "moral and social evil" falls upon the Christian majority. Archbishop Edward Mooney of Detroit, speaking at a memorial meeting for the martyrs of the Warsaw Ghetto . . . gave a striking description of the methods by which "covert anti-Semitism in America usually works." These methods . . . consist of mean jibes, vicious innuendos, vague accusations, unjustified generalities and distorted emphasis—"all calculated to foster organized antagonism." The way of checking these vicious methods, he said, is "to insist on a more concrete description of anti-Semitism," so as to "enable the man on the street to recognize it for the ugly thing it really is and put him on his guard against it." . . .

The fight on anti-Semitism is a long and arduous battle in which religious leaders, high and low, must engage in day in and day out. The responsibility for checking anti-Semitism falls on the Christian majority, cannot be discharged exclusively by the highest dignitaries of the Church. Not before the struggle against anti-Semitism is made the sacred duty of every man in the priesthood will the Church really discharge this responsibility.

An editorial in the *Congress Weekly*, June 23, 1944

467. I am convinced that religions, which like Christianity, profess belief in a brotherhood of man based on the Fatherhood of God can and should use the influence of religion to combat these prejudices. Without the aid of religion it has proved difficult to eliminate them on the human level. Experience has proved, however, that where the true spirit of religion prevails, difference of race, religion and nationality can be transcended.

The present situation, therefore, calls for concentrated effort on the part of the adherents of religion to assist in combatting prejudices like anti-Semitism and therefore to promote that world unity which is one of our chief goals in the present conflict.

BISHOP HENRY ST. GEORGE TUCKER

Quoted in *Congress Weekly*, February 18, 1944

468. . . . How shall the problem of anti-Semitism be solved in the world?

We don't know what the Jews themselves can do to solve it. Some have attempted to offer rules of conduct by which Jews may make themselves pleasing to everybody and thus confound anti-Semites. But the Jew is made to suffer, merely because he is a Jew, whether he is a good man or bad. . . .

We have an idea, though: Suppose all Gentiles were converted to the practice of Christianity. How long could anti-Semitism last if all Gentiles practiced Christianity?

National Jewish Monthly, April, 1942

469. Teach the young to judge always and everywhere, not by outward circumstances but by character.

(a) Let the broad-minded show by example that they are ready to associate on equal terms with their brothers of every faith and no faith.

(b) Let the Christian preachers tell their people that Christendom is under awful guilt for the persecution and destruction it has visited upon an able and peaceful people. If the church of the past could lay down an axiom: "The Jews are the slaves of the church," let the church of the present seek to readjust the balance. If in ancient times "the breath of the clergy was never wanting to fan the embers of persecution" let it now be expended in the fanning of the flame of brotherly love. The shame of the Christian church has been the unjustifiable attack upon the noble race which gave birth to its founder. It is time that in the name of the greatest Hebrew, Jesus of Nazareth, the shame be removed and all the disciples "do unto others as they would have others do unto them."

CHARLES H. EATON

The American Hebrew, April 4, 1890

470. Can the Jewish question be solved within the limits of history? This is the tragic question. It is not to be solved by the simple process of assimilation . . . events . . . hold out little hope for this solution. . . . There is also little hope of solving the problem by means of Zionism. Even in their own ancient fatherland, the Jews are now suffering persecution. Such a solution would be contrary to the messianic consciousness of the Jewish people. The Jew will remain a nation of wanderers. It might be said that the Jews' destiny is eschatological, solvable only in a perspective of the end of time. . . .

Religious anti-Semites may feel that the only solution of the Jewish question is to convert the whole Jewish race to Christianity. To me, there seems to be much justice in this attitude. But at the same time, to insist upon this sort of solution may be morally questionable or altogether wrong. If Christian anti-Semites put a knife to the throat of the Jew and demand conversion or pogrom, this is moral indecency with no relation whatever to Christianity. Why not demand the conversion to Christianity of various "Aryan" peoples who have either fallen away completely from Christianity or are content with its purely external forms? . . . To convert the Jews to

Christianity it is very important that Christians themselves should be converted, should become real, and not merely formal, Christians. Those who hate and persecute cannot be called Christians no matter how many prayers they say. . . . Christianity must defend human worth, the value of the human person, of every human individual, regardless of his race, nationality, class, or place in society. . . . The anti-Semitic movement . . . denies human values and human rights. . . . The Jewish question is a test of Christian conscience and of the spiritual power of Christianity.

NICHOLAS A. BERDYAEV

Commonweal, April 21, 1939

471. Christianize the Christians. WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS
The American Hebrew, April 4, 1890

472. In his report on anti-Semitic outbreaks among the young of New York City, William B. Herlands, then Commissioner of Investigation, points to four ways by which men of good will can help to combat anti-Semitism:

By bringing home the fundamental responsibility of parents for the prejudices their children pick up.

By furthering cooperation of public and parochial educational authorities to improve intercultural, interracial and interfaith relations.

By seeking additional assistance from the churches and religious leaders.

By designating panels of religious leaders to cooperate with the justices and probation officers of the Children's Court.

This brings the responsibility down to where it belongs: To parents, to teachers, to church. And, first, it seems to us the responsibility is in parents. From parents children get their first prejudicial impressions. . . . That dirty little crack a parent utters against some group of people. . . . That sneering contempt spoken or implied against a neighbor because of his race or religion. . . . Children pick up their parents' faults even more quickly than they do their virtues.

But how to educate parents? We should think that churches offer the best medium for the education of adults toward the brotherhood, and, as we understand it, the ideal of brotherhood is a fundamental of Christianity.

National Jewish Monthly, March, 1944

473. Teachers . . . must be among the first to realize the importance of attacking the evil of racism and religious hatred at the source. That source, to which innocent and well-meaning children

come in the earliest years of character formation, is . . . the teaching these children receive at home, and in the schools—lay and parochial.

The practical step is inescapable: It is the eradication of those teachings which "stir up, propagate, or cherish race hatred."

All educators wishing to further unity will agree that it is desirable that the three teacher associations should undertake at once such revisions, in the light of historical truth, and eliminations of textual matter in the books and publications in their respective provinces, as will purify the sources from which our children draw their emotional, intellectual, and spiritual nourishment. . . . This is not an easy task. . . . The solution advocated . . . is hard but persuasive. Overhaul the textbooks used in parochial schools. Strike out the words of hatred. Stop dropping into the minds of children the poisons of fear and suspicion. Leave to the natural friendliness of young children the reaching toward one another, in an atmosphere of human appreciation and respect. . . . Textbook revision in itself will do much to help free the minds of our children from the poison of anti-Semitism. But even more than that it will show irrevocably that our official centers of parochial education do not sanction racist provocation.

HENRY GOODMAN

New Currents, May, 1944

474. Only the slow process of education and precept can combat anti-Semitism. Many will disagree with me, but the history of bigotry in our country proves it. . . .

The liberal-minded in our communities must meet together and campaign vigorously by way of education and precept. Various religious versions of the Bible, text books and trade journals must be carefully read and reread to mark down anti-Semitic passages and efforts must be made to tone down, if not eradicate, the inflammatory passages. A particular version of the Bible inculcates the idea that the Jew is a Christ-killer. . . . It may be difficult to . . . change the passages; nevertheless, efforts must be made. All children must be taught the historical facts so that in making a proper judgment, it can be done without passions or prejudice. This is a job for the Church and the home.

EMANUEL CELLER

The Jewish Forum, March, 1944

475. . . . Only when Judaism, Christianity and Islam will have recognized the close connection existing between them, will extend a hand one to the other and forever banish from their respective theologies and moral teachings all that is called blood; only then, and

not before, shall we see the dawn of that hoped-for day which the Jews symbolize by the lamb and the wolf pasturing together, which connotes the Messianic age. . . .

. . . It is therefore necessary that all those who are inspired by feelings of tolerance and who have understood and recognized the good and the merits of all great religious communities should unite . . . and conclude a mighty alliance . . . with the express aim of fighting everywhere against fanaticism. . . . Every religion should be studied, the good it contains be elucidated and light thrown on it, and the knowledge of it should be disseminated in the widest circles. Wherever possible this should be done by persons not belonging to the religion in question, for such a procedure would furnish a better guarantee for impartiality. No religion must be attacked, criticized, insulted or ridiculed, except when this religion itself proceeds in a hostile and odious manner against other faiths. Fanaticism only should be the object of the attack, but at no time the dogmas, views or institutions of any religion.

COUNT HEINRICH COUDENHOVE-KALERGI
Anti-Semitism Throughout the Ages, p. 214, 215, 217

476. What measures can possibly uproot such fantastic notions, re-educate a continent? We need not delude ourselves with wishful thinking; the lessons of millennia are not to be undone in a generation or a century. But in a small way at first it should be possible to develop a program which can make some impression upon the American public. And here again we must turn to our Christian friends, the defenders of American democracy, for the effective force behind such a program. . . . The only way America at large can be reached is through those who already have its trusting ear: ministers, teachers, publicists, etc., who exert the greatest direct educational influence. Fortunately, this comparatively small group is not unapproachable.

A large, if not a major proportion of Americans come to know Jews personally only in adult years. The conceptions, or misconceptions, formed in childhood leave a permanent scar upon the mind. And it is in the church school that most children first make the acquaintance of the Jew. The Bible, and especially the New Testament, is their earliest and most moving text—but Scripture is perceived through the eye of the teacher. In his hands rests the power to shape initial attitudes. The minister and teacher of religion who is alive to his role in the educative process, and conscious of the responsibility it imposes upon him, can lay the basis for a fair atti-

tude. "The Jews killed our Lord" is still the first and most persuasive plank in anti-Semitism. Even when concern with religion dies, and religious affiliations are broken, the subconscious retains that initial childish upsurge of loathing and hate for the less than human creatures who could so misuse the gentle founder of Christianity. Break down that foundation and the entire structure begins to totter. Yet this is only a beginning to what the religious schools can do. The power of the Church, which must see that its own future is doomed along with the Jews, to establish him as fellow human, is an inestimable weapon in this struggle.

JOSHUA TRACHTENBERG

How to Combat Anti-Semitism in America, p. 36, 37, 38

477. Rightly or wrongly most Jews believe that a hostile attitude toward their race is interwoven with the teachings of the Christian Church. So eminent a scholar as Professor Kallen can write:

"Anti-Semitism is a chronic aspect of Christian history. . . . The root of the special Jewish difficulty is in the position of the Jews in the Christian religion. If you can end this teaching that the Jews are enemies of God and of mankind you will strike anti-Semitism at its foundations."

However strongly individual Christians may protest against this point of view, however eagerly they may insist that in the Creed it is Pontius Pilate who is made responsible for the Crucifixion, however sincerely they may claim that no anti-Semitic principles were ever instilled into them by any religious teacher, this indictment is too serious to be brushed aside in such fashion. What does history say? What does literature show? Would Leo Frank have been lynched, in this twentieth century of this Christian era, in these United States if he had been a Christian?

What the Church must do is not to explain to Jews that anti-Semitism has no place in its principles; for such explanation, literally true that it is, sounds unpleasantly like sounding of brass and tinkling cymbals, in view of centuries of practice. What the Church must do is to explain to Christians that they betray their Leader whenever they indulge in, or condone or fail to combat the innumerable manifestations of hostility towards Jews which occur everywhere.

If any Christian who reads these lines can honestly doubt the frequency or seriousness of these manifestations, let him read a little of the evidence. Most of us need only examine our own consciences. Do we cherish a dislike for Jews as such? Do we seek to have them excluded from privileges which we enjoy—social, educational, pro-

fessional? Do we receive the appointment of Jews to high public office? When an individual Jew does something mean or discreditable do we remark complacently: "That's just like a Jew!"—But when an individual Jew does something noble, generous and social-minded, do we say, "He's merely trying to be conspicuous!"—In other words, do we disregard continually the first and greatest Commandment of Christ? And if we do not do these things, are we silent when others do them?

The duty of the Church is clear. The Commandment that we love one another applies in respect to other human beings. Christ left no doubt on that point; and no person can read His recorded sayings without realizing that to be a Christian, a follower of the principles taught by Christ, means first and foremost the practice of brotherly love toward all mankind. The Church must teach and emphasize, and reiterate that Commandment or fail in its primary duty.

Finally, let it not be thought that condescending kindness is sufficient. Only love is the fulfillment of the Law. Unless the Church recognizes and accomplishes her fundamental task of aiding mankind to develop those spiritual fruits, the first of which is love, she will die of inner decay; for the Church is not necessary to God, but God, whose nature is love, is indispensable to the Church. Let the Church as an organization and every Christian as a person, endeavor, now that anti-Semitism seems to be growing ever stronger, to eradicate that monstrosity forever; since to be anti-Semitic is also to be anti-Christian.

MIRIAM E. OATMAN

Advance, October 4, 1934

478. What is happening to the Jews in Germany should stir every Christian heart throughout the world. It is a reversion to the wretched racial antipathies of the dark ages. It is a disavowal of the hard-won values of freedom and toleration for which a thousand generations have struggled. . . .

Has all this no meaning for American Christians? Have we no responsibility to sympathize with our Jewish neighbors and use every endeavor to combat anti-Semitism wherever it appears? It is anti-American and anti-Christian. It can find no shelter behind the faith of Christ. It must be repudiated as a hateful thing, foreign to the Christian soul. . . .

But resolutions, however expressive, have little meaning until they reach the rank and file of the people. Prejudice and intolerance

are social facts. Their removal requires more than pronouncements. They require positive education based upon positive convictions. This is a task for every pastor, every Sunday School teacher, and every church member. Christians owe it to themselves as well as to the Jews, to be truly Christian. There are enough Christians in America to build a breakwater of Christian sentiment against which the menacing waves of anti-Semitism from other lands will beat in vain. Now is the time to build.

HOME MISSIONS COUNCIL
Advance, August 8, 1935

479. . . . The Christian Church must assume responsibility for teaching its members to get the facts, to judge people as individuals and not as members of a group, and to recognize anti-democratic propaganda. . . .

In connection with the argument that Jews are responsible for the fact that they have often been victims of persecution, the Christian Church should make its own members conversant with the facts. The Jews have lived in a world dominantly Christian, and, therefore, antagonistic to them. But they have retained their Judaism. At the same time they have been a relatively weak minority without a refuge. They have been compelled to remain and "take it." . . .

It is the responsibility of Christians, being in the majority, to produce an environment so just and so stable that minority groups will not have more than their normal proportion of the disagreeable. Until that time Christians must be sympathetic and forgiving. Instead of asking, "How do they get that way?," let us ask ourselves, "Did we help make them that way?" . . .

American Christians must insist upon the principle of judging men as individuals, not as members of groups. This means that we cannot ask Jewish groups to assume any more responsibility for their evil-doers than any other group does. Above all, Christians must stop prejudice in its tracks by insisting upon facts and by building up intergroup friendships and confidence. Instead of asking, "What have Jews done to bring about this prejudice?"; we must ask, "What can Christians do to put it down?"

Jews, like Christians, are entitled to a society in which they can be normal human beings—children of God. It rests in large part with Christians to provide such a society, for they are so much in the majority. Theirs is the power and the obligation.

WILLARD JOHNSON
Christian Advocate, October 16, 1941

5. COOPERATION WITH NON-JEW AND LIBERAL FORCES

480. It behooves us, as good American citizens, to set about building a bridge of understanding between the two groups, Jewish and Christian. By good modern practice a bridge is always begun from both sides of the river simultaneously. Most of the building must be done from the side of the Christians, who have the most to lose from anti-Semitism, being the more numerous group. But the Jews have to do some building too. There was never a persecuted race that did not develop some characteristics that seemed to give color of justification to persecution. Abolish persecution and such characteristics disappear. . . . There is something we can do ourselves. It is still open to us to form an engineering organization representing both groups, to discuss frankly, without reservations or tabus, ways and means for softening the edges of inter-group conflict, of clearing away inter-group misunderstanding. At least we owe it to our democratic civilization to do something more than denounce and wring our hands. We can try.

ALVIN JOHNSON

Survey Graphic, February, 1939

481. There is only one salvation for the Jew, no matter to which class he belongs. No matter how much courage and self-forgetfulness it takes, he must forever renounce an attitude of defeatism. He must first unite with all other Jewish groups and then join with the militant and forceful Gentile groups who really see the racial and economic problems involved. He must by no means isolate himself; on the contrary, he must identify himself with the nation and population of which he is a member and fight with every anti-fascist organization he can find.

In the meantime the Jews should recognize, once and for all time, that Fascism, no matter what its local color or brand, is bent on the extermination of their people. They must join, rich and poor alike, in fierce and uncompromising action against its continued existence and future conquests.

MARTHA DODD

Through Embassy Eyes, p. 317, 318

482. Now as to the fight: *Our Fight*. We have been told of so many ways in which we could disarm the enemy. We have been advised to soft-pedal our Jewishness, to avoid causing resentment by Jewish voice, manners, gestures, intonations. . . . To be Americans "like the others." Oh yeah! What others? The Swedes in Minnesota, the Italians in Louisiana, the Spanish in Harlem, the

Bohemians in Yorkville, the French Canadians in Maine. We must not put ourselves forward. "Be modest". . . and what shall we get for it? What the Jews got for being more German than the Germans, here during the World War and over there for time immemorial! . . .

In union there is strength. . . . We have got to close our ranks in a common cause, not only that of Semitism, not just that of Judaism, noble as these causes are, but also in the broader sense, in the cause of Justice, Freedom and Humanity. . . .

And we need allies. Liberals above all. And broadminded men who must be told, again and again, that we do not look upon this . . . terrifying world-struggle only as Jews, but as citizens of a great Republic, as citizens of a world-fighting for all that humanity stands for and, moreover, fighting for their very lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

. . . We must do what we think is just and right, insist on a square deal and fair treatment in every walk of life for one and all, as we ourselves are willing to give it day after day.

DR. PERCY FRIDENBERG

The Jewish Forum, May, 1942

483. The first preventive measure against the spread of anti-Semitism in this country should . . . be the alignment of Jewish forces with the forces of true democracy, which is an inseparable adjunct to the ideals of social justice. . . .

The next step is the practice of social justice by those among us who have achieved the rank of captains in industry and commerce. . . .

There are many ways of combatting the spread of anti-Semitism among those who may become infected. Counter-propaganda, enlightenment, truth—these are preventive as well as curative measures. The first step toward this combat, however, lies in our alignment with the forces of justice without and the adherence to the principle of justice within our own ranks.

An editorial in the *Congress Bulletin*, December 11, 1936

484. "Anti-defamation" campaigns and pious statistics are less than no defense. We must be prepared, in conjunction with all the progressive forces that can be mobilized on this front, to utilize every available weapon against the fascist and the anti-Jewish menace: the legislatures, the law courts, the boycott, a relentless propaganda. And all, not to protect Jewish rights, but to protect American rights.

JOSHUA TRACHTENBERG

How to Combat Anti-Semitism in America, p. 30, 31

6. STRENGTHENING OF JEWISH LIFE AND UNITY

485. Since the Jewish problem is single and universal, the Jews of every country should strive for its solution. But the duty resting upon us in America is especially insistent. . . .

Let us therefore lead—earnestly, courageously, and joyously in the struggle for liberation. Let us recognize that we Jews are a distinct nationality of which every Jew, whatever his country, his station or shade of belief, is necessarily a member. Let us insist that the struggle for liberty shall not cease until equality of opportunity is awarded to nationalities as to individuals. Let us insist also that full equality of opportunity cannot be obtained by Jews until we, like members of other nationalities, shall have the option of living elsewhere or of returning to the land of our forefathers. . . .

To this end we must organize. Organize, in the first place, so that the world may have proof of the extent and the intensity of our desire for liberty. Organize in the second place, so that our resources may become known and be made available. . . .

Organize, organize, organize—until every Jew in America must stand up and be counted—counted with us—or prove himself, wittingly or unwittingly, of the few who are against their own people.

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

The Jewish Problem: How to Solve It, p. 16, 17

486. How then shall Jews meet the onslaught of Hitler and his cohorts. For one thing Jews must unite. The failure of the Jewish people in this and other lands to reach complete and effective unity in the field of self-defense in the sight of the Hitler war is treasonable not only to Jewish interests but to those interests of civilization, which it is become the lot of the Jew to defend and preserve.

RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE

Nazism: An Assault on Civilization, p. 209, 210

487. The only way, then, to remove the cause of prejudice against itself is . . . that the multitude (the Jewish People) should cease to be a multitude and become a normal society, with representatives—with a head. . . .

If the multitude is a local one, to become a normal association it must have local representatives, but if it is an international multitude it must then have international representatives, an international head. . . .

The international head of the Jews is to consist of representatives from every locality where Jews are. Such bodies are deliberative and there must also be officers to carry out and execute the orders of the deliberative body, hence, executive officers.

As the representatives will come from various parts of the world to represent the Jews' international society it will consequently be an international Jewish Congress with executive officers; and as the international society of Jews is a permanent society, it must have a permanent International Jewish Congress with Executive Officers.

As the Jews are by "communi consensu" Jews, they must also by the same consent submit to order and normality as a distinct society of Jews, and they will if the prominent men in Israel will call upon them to give up the life of a multitude and become the International Jewish People. . . .

. . . the remedy is within their reach, and depends entirely upon them, namely, the establishment of a permanent International Jewish Congress with executive officers.

This is the *praescriptum* for the Jewish multitude which, if acted upon, will destroy the germ of the primary cause of anti-Semitism.

ABRAHAM S. SCHOMER

*The Primary Cause of Anti-Semitism:
An Answer to the Jewish Question, p. 155, 156, 157*

488. Let us have no more apologetics and no more Anglicizing of Jewish names. Repudiation of Jewish substance is the surest path to suspicion. . . . Relinquish not a particle of what is good and noble in your ancestry. I will honor your tenacity to a racial heritage even though I do not understand a tenth part of that heritage. If a Jew is in a high place in the nation, let it never be forgotten that he is a Jew. Let his every accomplishment be recorded in the daily press with the note that he is a Jew. The Gentiles must not be allowed to forget for an instant that American Jewry is a vital part of our social structure.

. . . You must be Jews with all your might. . . .

You must have many more friends among the Gentiles . . . who will fight for your Jewish integrity. . . .

You must make your young men and women intrude their distinctly Jewish characteristics and temperament into our Gentile consciousness. They must not be shy or diffident. They must not under-rate their own powers. . . . You must not withhold any of your creative gifts in classwork, music, art or dramatics. You have a double duty

to complete: You must be thoroughly Jewish in a Gentile world, and yet translate the best of your Jewish genius into Gentile terms, especially those of the younger and more sympathetic Gentiles. . . .

Bring your Rabbis to talk at student meetings. . . .

Let every young Jew say to himself: "Before I receive my college diploma, I will have sought out a Gentile, congenial to my personal interests and field of study, and I will open my mind completely to him, if he will do likewise with me. . . . If this is not a plan of action, then consider it as the first step for the union of Jewish and Gentile youth against potent and unmistakable foes.

JOHN MILTON CALDWELL

How to Combat Anti-Semitism in America, p. 86-89, 91

489. The teaching of "goodwill" and the practice of self-discipline are obviously worthy ideals; but those who offer them as cures for anti-Semitism err psychologically, philosophically, historically and—practically. The goodwill movement is unlikely ever to reach those who have most need of it. People who are conditioned to anti-Semitism are conditioned to resist the arguments and appeals of good will. Some there certainly are who "fail to understand" on purpose; others hate because of their very understanding. . . .

If self-discipline is a noble ideal, the emancipation of Israel through superior conduct, through Jewish noblesse oblige is nevertheless a fatuous conceit. . . . Every minority on the defensive knows that a hundred saints and prophets cannot outweigh the calumny inspired by one of its boors and rascals. . . .

It is useless for American Jews to hope completely to solve their problem apart from their blood-brethren of other lands. Willingly or reluctantly, they must ever be concerned as they shall always be affected by the life and fate of these "foreign" Jews. In large measure, then, anti-Semitism in America must be overcome through liquidating anti-Semitism in the world, through helping in the solution of the universal Jewish problem. To this end an important part of our program will be full participation in the causes of self-defense and rehabilitation represented by the World Jewish Congress and the Zionist movement.

VICTOR EPPSTEIN

How to Combat Anti-Semitism in America, p. 45-46, 48-49

490. There is only one course left for us to follow and that is to prove ourselves useful to the world as true Jews. It is in the combination of true traditional Judaism with true usefulness to humanity that a true remedy to Jew-hatred is to be found. Irre-

placeable usefulness is both a power and a bond of peace, and the connection between our usefulness and our Jewish descent and practices proves our usefulness irreplaceably. The world knows that many Jews have rendered highly useful service to humanity; but it does not know sufficiently that their services have anything to do with their Judaism and we do not do enough to manifest this connection. . . .

There is something else to be kept in mind: Very few people hate those who have unquestionably merited their success. Those who fail usually complain that their rivals succeeded because of favoritism or the use of indiscriminate methods. . . . When a Jewish businessman avoids unproductive speculation, when a Jewish employer treats his employees better than the non-Jew, when Jewish professionals are less mercenary than their non-Jewish colleagues, when Jewish inventors refrain from applying their inventions in injurious enterprises, or such as are useless to humanity, and prove by their observance that their conduct has something to do with their faith, they remove all possible criticism from themselves and their nationality. . . . It is our duty to prove ourselves useful as Jews by word and action. . . . The best weapon against anti-Semitism is to be found in such conduct and agitation as will prove that we are useful not only to Jews but also to the non-Jews, just because we are true Jews. . . . We have proven this fact in Palestine. . . . It is now our duty to achieve similar accomplishments here in America. . . . Elimination of crime as well as of unproductive speculation, even though not punishable by the law of the land, should be one of our objectives.

RABBI MORRIS SCHATZ

Jewish Forum, June, 1939

7. LEGISLATION

491. . . . the United Nations to recognize that even the appearance of political anti-Semitism is an incitement to aggression and as such, should be made punishable under international law.

HENRY A. ATKINSON

Never Again, p. 36

492. For several generations, maybe, there will be men who can't be weaned from the Fascist vices of race hate. We should deny such men responsibility in public affairs exactly as we deny responsibility to the wretched victims of the drug habit. There are laws against peddling dope; there can be laws against peddling race hate.

. . . Race hate is a disease. In a people's world the incurable racist has no rights. He must be deprived of influence in a people's government. He must be segregated as he himself would segregate the colored and Semitic peoples—as we now segregate the leprous and the insane.

ORSON WELLES

Free World, July, 1944

493. Do you want to prevent race riots and race persecutions? Then stop agitation to racial persecution and stop it by law. Free speech does not give men the right to cry fire in a crowded theatre nor should it give men the power to incite citizens to the persecution and eventual murder of each other in the face of an advancing foe.

DOROTHY THOMPSON

Quoted in *Jewish Forum*, October, 1941

494. Never back up! . . . Do not permit the vilifications of Jew-haters to rule or determine your lives! Above all, avoid by all means the ghetto mind-cringing before slander, fawning before ignorance, taking on protective coloration!

Not that pugnaciousness or a chip-on-the-shoulder attitude is advisable or useful—not at all. Tact is always useful in human relations, but tact is not groveling. . . . To the anti-Semite, timidity is merely an excuse to add contempt to abuse, insult to injury. Hence, all the tact, kindness, consideration, decency and helpfulness in the world—but no ghetto attitude of fear, groveling and apologies for being alive. . . . As for malicious Jew-baiting, there is but one thing to do: Fight with all the possible resources of the law.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

How to Combat Anti-Semitism in America, p. 14, 15

8. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT

495. Freedom from fear is the way to cure race prejudice. . . . In any country every legal decision that upholds equal citizenship rights without regard to race or color, every labor decision that lessens the terror of being "laid off" and gives a man self-respect in his employment, every arrangement that secures the little farmer against losing his acres to the bank—all these and many more can free people from fear. They need not look for scapegoats.

RUTH BENEDICT and GENE WELTFISH

The Races of Mankind, p. 25, 26

496. . . . The best way to uproot anti-Semitism is to eliminate the economic Frankensteins who do most to stimulate it. Every Jew who fights for social justice, who supports an enlightened educational system, who identifies himself with peace, helps minimize the evils of anti-Semitism.

ABRAHAM LEON SACHAR

Our Heritage and the World Today, p. 16

497. The ultimate answer to race prejudice, including anti-Semitism, is to be found in enlightenment and security. . . .

By enlightenment I mean the conquest of ignorance and by security I mean real equality of opportunity based on economic and social justice. When people are well fed, clothed and housed; when their physical, emotional and cultural needs and aspirations are satisfied, the soil in which race hatred flourishes is largely destroyed.

It would be next to impossible to arouse active and militant anti-Semitism in a people enjoying true enlightenment and living under conditions of economic security and social justice.

MAGISTRATE CHARLES SOLOMON

Quoted in *Brooklyn Eagle*, March 8, 1940

498. Anti-Semitism will disappear only when all people possess, at the least, opportunities for work that will bring them the necessities of life and promise of more; only when starvation in the midst of plenty will have become the miserable anachronism it should by now be. Men and women who are occupied with earning and spending money have no time and no mind to hunt Jews—they need no scapegoat. An economy geared for social utility rather than individual profit cannot waste valuable energy on such an anti-social pursuit as Jew-hatred.

JOSHUA TRACHTENBERG

Opinion, February, 1936

499. After one has looked hard and long at anti-Semitism from various angles, it finally seems indisputable that a flanking attack on racism through an improvement of economic life is the most hopeful way—perhaps the only way—of checking and reducing the malignant disease. Whatever else it is, anti-Semitism is a poverty problem.

GORHAM MUNSON

The Christian Century, October 4, 1939

500. Any effort . . . to lessen the effect of anti-Semitic agitation by attacking its truth or logic ignores the fact that not those attributes

but the psychological and emotional functions it performs have made for its widespread success.

The challenge to democracy that anti-Semitism constitutes . . . can be intelligently met only when we regard it as a technique of reaction that is rooted in the social chaos of our times. The common assumption that anti-Semitism is primarily a problem for Jews and men of good will must give way to the more realistic recognition that it is the vital concern of everyone who would preserve and extend the freedom we cherish. If anti-Semitism strikes a Jew, its real target is the democratic way of life. . . .

Hatred . . . has been converted by the Fascists into a political strategy because it has helped them to fulfill their purposes and that strategy has worked because social conditions have rendered the appeal to intolerance and prejudice an attractive and satisfying one. The usefulness of anti-Semitism to reaction can therefore be destroyed only when the masses of people no longer feel it necessary to hate and when those who attempt to employ the strategy of hatred are unable to profit from its use.

That means that if we would eliminate intolerance and racial prejudice from our midst, and deprive reaction of one of its major allies, we must attack those social conditions—unemployment, economic insecurity, low standards of living, inadequate recreational opportunities, international strife—in whose soil intolerance flourishes. We must attempt to fashion a social order in which adequate material rewards, cultural satisfactions, educational facilities, normal psychological adjustments, do away with that emotional climate in which anti-Semitism breeds. Only when the psychological and emotional functions that anti-Semitism fills today are satisfied by positive and constructive programs can we expect any impairment of its appeal in periods of social tension.

And because anti-Semitism is a weapon of reaction, those who would combat it must strike at the hand that wields it. That, of course, means that they must join in conflict against those groups . . . who seek the destruction of democracy. . . . The campaign against anti-Semitism in our day becomes identical with the general struggle for the preservation and extension of democracy.

DAVID W. PETEGORSKY
Antioch Review, Fall, 1942

501. Race hatred can be wiped out of the U.S.A. Discrimination can be ended, Jim Crowism abolished; fears, jealousies and race rivalries eliminated. But not by writing promises in political platforms, not by legislative efforts, no matter how honest or desirable

they may be, which are narrowly directed at the visible end-products of racial rivalry.

To wipe out race hatred and racial discriminations, we must unite the races in producing food enough for all, housing for all, clothing for all, education for all, comfort for all, instead of forcing them to compete with one another for less than enough.

Put a white man and a Negro soldier in the same shell hole, and they will fight together to the last breath, sharing their food and water, and if either is wounded the other will risk his life to carry him out. But the shell hole must be large enough for both.

The industrial life of America must be large enough for both. Today's jobs and tomorrow's security must be enough for both. The products of earth and industry, of social life—housing, schooling, play space—must satisfy the yearning of men and women to live decently, or those who have too little will fight with those who have still less. . . .

Promises of equal rights to racial and religious groups are worthless scraps of paper unless they are combined with government policies which reduce the causes of racial strife and hatred. The voter who wants to work effectively for the rights of racial minorities must vote for men who will devote themselves to the welfare, as well as the rights of all.

The choice is between full employment, full production, family security and racial harmony, on the one hand, and the fear-creating, hate-breeding system of selective poverty to which we now dedicate ourselves. When we choose the former, and put it into effect, the race problem in the U.S.A. will be settled, and not before.

IRVING BRANT
P.M., August 27, 1944

9. DISEASE TREATMENT

502. These flurries of bigotry are a social disease which is as fatal to humanity as cancer, tuberculosis, smallpox or any other mortal disease. The physical ailments of mankind are not remedied or cured by outbursts of oratory. They are treated by calm, sound, scientific research and medical care.

Mass meetings, with flows of oratory, may be helpful in political campaigns and may serve useful purposes in labor, civic or other matters. A serious, delicate situation of this character frequently lends itself as a suitable vehicle for demagogues.

BOROUGH PRESIDENT JAMES J. LYONS
New York Times, January 12, 1944

503. . . . There is need for a program of education which will present the facts showing that racial or religious hate is to some extent at least, a psychiatric question and if we are going to stamp intolerance as a sickness, then the next step is to treat it as one.

Heretofore, we have treated intolerance by moral exhortation. Civilized communities have disposed of hate by morally disapproving of it. They have set up taboos which inhibit its free expression. Bigots have properly been subjected to moral censure and often to public ostracism. The moral code, is, of course, the only instrument which keeps the community safe from outbreaks of hate. But we are now suggesting that in some instances the bigot ought to be treated by a doctor as well as by a preacher, or by both of them working together. . . .

Shall we set up mental health clinics to treat and cure cases of intolerance, if possible?

LOUIS MINSKY

Contemporary Jewish Record, June, 1942

504. Logical argumentation and proof by facts and documents, that the Jews are not responsible for the defeat and that the German revolution has been caused by totally different factors, have not the slightest effect. The passionate propaganda campaign, launched by Jewish organizations in Germany to combat anti-Semitism with statistics and documents, impresses us as rather naïve. In the age of Freud it ought to be known that mental ailments cannot be cured with logic, since logical argumentation will make the patient only more furious because he will feel the weakness of his position and is bound to react to it with more vigorous resistance and more acute hatred.

JAMES WATERMAN WISE

Swastika: The Nazi Terror, p. 29, 30

10. ASSIMILATION

505. . . . If the Jewish problem is ever to be solved, it will have to be done by the Gentiles.

How? Simply by forgetting that we are Jews and remembering only that we are human beings. Let us be, and in time we shall actually cease to be. Our history proves that. Wherever we have been least hounded, there have we been most prone to disappear.

LEWIS BROWNE

Virginia Quarterly Review, Spring, 1939

506. The way to dispel that prejudice appears to me to cultivate the true Christ-like spirit in our hearts and to pray for God's ancient Israel, who, as we hope and believe, will some day be "grafted in again" and made one with us in the body of Jesus Christ.

MORGAN DIX

American Hebrew, April 4, 1890

507. It may be presumptuous for me to state the opinion that in a not-too-slow process of assimilation the Jew as a "Jew" may disappear. I am aware that this is a happening which would seem tragic to practically every Jewish leader. . . . Orthodoxy of any kind is difficult under modern conditions. . . . Obviously, Jewish Orthodoxy was framed to suit the needs and requirements of a pastoral people. The electric refrigerator . . . takes a good deal of logic out of dietary regulations. And only the most devout Jews are able to follow literally the complicated customs of their faith when living in a large American city. . . . From the most extreme reformed congregation to any so-called Christian sect, a Jew must make something of a leap. But the chasm can be leaped. . . . It is no great wrench for a Jew to accept Christ as a teacher, or even as one of the prophets. After all, he was distinctly a product of Judaism, and his ethical teachings did not necessarily war with those of the older leaders. . . . Another movement which may well provide a common meeting ground for Gentiles and Jews is Humanism, as preached by the Reverend Charles Francis Potter, which takes its ethics from the religious teachings of many faiths and makes no demand of belief in the supernatural. And, of course, the Ethical Culture movement has been another effort to combine Judaism and Christianity, retaining the best features of each.

HEYWOOD BROWN and GEORGE BRITT

Christians Only, p. 309, 310, 313, 315, 316

508. Obviously, anti-Semites would have a ready remedy in the disappearance of the Jews. It would disappear with its object just as smallpox would disappear with the destruction of the human race. . . . So the philosophy of assimilation has its reasons; it would cure the disease by killing the patient. . . . But the Jews do not want to die and their enemies will not let them disappear. The Jews, like any other historic people, have values which they themselves cherish: their religion, their history, their nationality, their language, their culture. Individuals may neglect these, may try to be absorbed in some other people, but the Jewish folk have always clung to them

and do so still. They would rather suffer for their ideals than give them up for freedom and security. . . .

But even when a considerable number of Jews elect assimilation, they have not been gladly received or absorbed by the majority. We have seen how in Catholic Spain the thousands who were baptized became nominally identical with other Spaniards. But they were popularly known as the new Christians; the mobs still found and attacked them; the Inquisition visited on them special suspicion and unusual severity, social discrimination never entirely disappeared. . . . This bitterness, which had no sanction from Church or State, but was simply the creation of prejudice, is duplicated with new reasons in modern Germany. There the race theory makes it possible to discriminate against the children or grandchildren of baptized and assimilated Jews; a century of ardent Germanism and Christianity has gone for naught. Anti-Semitism would disappear with the Jew, but the Jew wants his Judaism, the non-Jew his anti-Semitism; so both continue to persist together.

LEE J. LEVINGER

Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 300, 301, 302

509. Another evidence of this theory of flight from reality may be detected in the effort of the assimilationist who seeks through identification with the majority to wipe out his uniqueness and thus to minimize, if not entirely to eradicate, the antipathy to himself and his group. . . . This view was largely in vogue during the period of our emancipation when the rise to power of the bourgeoisie, waving aloft the banner of fraternity and equality, heralded a rapprochement between the formerly despised pariahs and their fellow citizens. It is not necessary to dwell . . . upon the disillusionment that befell those who snatched at this last straw of salvation. It has finally been discarded by those who survived the unleashing of the Nazi terror. . . . The hue and cry of the Nazis against those who have "corrupted the Aryan culture" still rings in our ears.

Aside from the fact that their enemies will not let the Jews perish through amalgamation with themselves, the vast majority of them do not wish to rule themselves out of existence. Though assimilation may at times solve the dilemma of the individual, national suicide will never be accepted by those who insist upon the right of the Jewish people to continue contributing its share of values to the world. They do not seek for a *raison d'être*, in the same way that other groups, in normal and healthier circumstances, do not. They accept the fact of existence as sufficient proof of their right to live.

HARRY ESSRIG

How to Combat Anti-Semitism in America, p. 64, 65

11. MULTIPLE AND MISCELLANEOUS SOLUTIONS

510. 1. The rights and opportunities which Jews enjoy in America are theirs as of right, and not through the sufferance or toleration of anyone.

Jews are not second-class citizens. . . . Jews must not retreat. . . . They must not . . . be deterred from holding and articulating any political opinions . . . nor must they hesitate in the least to enter into or maintain themselves in any legitimate business enterprise or profession to which they may feel themselves called. . . . Jews, if they agree to a withdrawal from any one of their privileges, may in the end be left with none.

2. Anti-Semitism is not created by the behavior of Jews.

The real sources of anti-Semitism lie in deep-seated social forces: in the heritage of anti-Jewish prejudice transmitted generation by generation through the home, the school and the Church; in economic wretchedness and maladjustment; in the psychic frustration of individuals within a society, and of the society as a whole in its political, economic and cultural aspirations. . . . Against factors of such large moment, the behavior of single persons, whether Jewish or Christians, is of comparatively trivial import. . . . While the actions of individual Jews may have some role in the accentuation or diminution of anti-Semitism, that role is distinctly of a secondary or tertiary character. In the whole structure, against the deeper, larger sources it is, as a causative factor, virtually negligible. . . .

There must be no sense of guilt or inferiority among Jews. They are not an inferior breed of human beings. And if an anti-Semitic storm breaks over them, they must not be seduced into believing that they have by their own monumental deficiencies invoked it on their own heads. They must discern, for their own morale as well as in the interests of objective truth, that it is a consequence of vast impersonal factors, economic and psychological.

3. Anti-Semitism cannot be controlled by the Jews.

. . . Jews ought to put whatever strength they can muster into all enterprises, interdenominational and intercultural, calculated to improve group relations; they ought to give instinctively of their energy to those national organizations which are concerned with Jewish self-defense; and . . . they ought to use their pressure to encourage fuller cooperation among such organizations. . . . Simultaneously with these efforts the Jew owes it to America as well as to himself to address himself to those deep social maladies from which anti-Semitism springs. He ought to be in the forefront of all efforts to protect the democratic spirit and process on the American scene, to

alleviate through peaceful reform those inequities and economic miseries in which group tensions breed.

4. The Jew needs today, as never before in modern times, a vital and significant Judaism.

As for the American scene, it is sufficient to say that by and large the degree of demoralization among Jews is directly proportional to the degree of dejudaization.

And so it must be. For the ability to endure any evil, no matter of what nature, depends always on three factors: on the self-respect of the person who undergoes it, on his ability to enjoy his existence despite it, and on his conviction as to the general meaningfulness of his life. But the self-respect of Jews for themselves as Jews can be derived only from adequate knowledge of the Jewish tradition. The enjoyment of Jewishness is possible only as a result of participation in Jewish ritual practices, cultural expressions and communal enterprises. And the meaningfulness of Jewish life involves an appreciation of, and dedication to, the ideals which motivate the entire Jewish tradition: religious faith, learning, justice, compassion, and the achievement of a good society for all men. . . . The serenity of Jews in their present situation, their courage in their future lot are, in all actuality, being determined at this moment by the disposition which they are making of their Jewish heritage.

RABBI MILTON STEINBERG

Contemporary Jewish Record, December, 1941

511. All this may be expressed in the following, provided it is understood that these guides are not absolute but merely represent points to bear in mind in deciding particular matters.

1. Remember that decent people are not anti-Semitic. Assume that your Christian neighbor is on your side and resents this business just as much as you do.

2. Don't have an inferiority complex because you are a Jew. Make your children, too, proud of their religion and its fine traditions. Participate in general communal activities and perform your full duties as an American citizen. Remember that ten thousand words of "defense" are not as effective as a single unselfish act in the furtherance of what we all hold dear—a contribution to some worthy cause in philanthropy, the arts, the sciences or education; a generous or kindly deed of the simplest sort.

3. Whatever you do in the field of community relationships, be sure it is an effective step in bringing the true issues before right-

thinking Christians. The main point is to prevent the enemy from making headway among our fellow Americans.

4. Let sober judgment, not righteous indignation, control your actions. In other words, don't fall into the enemy's trap by accepting his own chosen issue of anti-Semitism—the issue on which he is delighted to have Jewish “replies.” Remember that the provoking of such Jewish “replies” is part of the game of the Nazi agents themselves in stirring up world revolution. They want you to be apologetic and defensive. Remember that very few are interested in Jewish defense except the Jews themselves; the great mass of Americans are interested much more in the defense of America as a whole. Moreover, apologetics are usually discounted in advance, and hence convince no one. . . . The temptation every time is, of course, to “do something” about it; and “doing something” often means fanning the flame of just the wrong issue, a Jewish issue. Direct replies to attacks may give you an emotional safety valve; but such emotional outlets are far too costly in terms of effective action. This does not mean that there may not at times be need for some pamphlet or book for distribution to interested groups in order to explode out-and-out lies.

5. Remember that the attack on un-American groups must not be a distinctly Jewish attack, which would only accentuate the false idea that the issue is “Jews versus non-Jews.” Rather it must be an attack by a widespread American public opinion fully aroused to danger of foreign forces which are destructive of true Americanism. The fight is to keep the seeds of foreign intrigue out of our country, to protect America from the poison which has infected Europe. We must not allow our people to feel that opposition to Nazism involves us in foreign entanglements; for the truth is that it is Nazism which leads to foreign entanglements.

6. Don't argue “racial” equality. The whole “Jewish race” idea, already scientifically discredited, only helps Hitler establish his “Aryan” myth.

7. Beware of hastily conceived legislation to outlaw the enemy. Remember that any such legislation may dangerously curtail freedom of expression in other directions. . . .

8. Prevent well-meaning friends from starting unnecessary prosecutions on charges of anti-Semitism, despite the provocation and the justice of the cause. Even a conviction may increase a scoundrel's following by enabling him to pose as a martyr. Moreover, legal technicalities may result in an acquittal, which could easily be misinterpreted as a vindication. In any event, a clever rabble-rouser on

the witness stand can reach millions through the press whom he could never reach with his little pamphlets and stickers.

9. Don't rely on arguments for tolerance or against intolerance, except to contrast democracy with dictatorship. Tolerance means putting up with something. Everyone must be intolerant of what he considers evil (gangsters, tyranny, cruelty). Moreover, not only is the plea for tolerance a weak appeal with all except those who are already liberal and decent, but in the minds of many at the present time tolerance suggests the Jewish issue and may therefore be taken as merely another defensive argument of the sort mentioned above. The question for Americans is not one of tolerance versus intolerance. The question is unity against subversive discord.

10. Defend the American way of life, which the Nazis are attacking by their device of raising the "Jewish issue."

11. Don't allow anti-Nazism to be misinterpreted as pro-radicalism.

12. Don't talk as though the anti-Semites were too great a menace in America today. Remember that Nazism is a foreign importation. The note to strike should be: *it must not happen here*. We must avoid building up a band-wagon psychology that would make men believe that anti-Semitism is the big thing of the moment. To exaggerate the danger in the minds of Americans generally would be almost suicidal in its effect.

13. Be optimistic and courageous. Don't lose heart, America has been in danger before, and has always come through. America will come through again, will rise up against anti-Semitism as it has risen up against other un-American movements. As for us individually, our duty is to keep cool, be realistic, and above all prevent the enemy from establishing the issue of anti-Semitism as a blind for the real issue, which is himself.

RICHARD C. ROTHSCHILD

Contemporary Jewish Record, January-February, 1940

512. . . . Jews cannot successfully oppose anti-Semitism by reacting, however intelligently, to the attacks of their enemies. More important than reactions are *actions*. The former presuppose that Jews are on the defensive, with the timing and the terrain of the attack out of their hands; the latter, a direct reversal of the strategic situation. They know that in the field of propaganda, as on the battlefield, whoever attacks has the advantage. Their opponents must realize this too. Jews must not allow themselves to be maneuvered into a position where their energies are exhausted in parrying assaults. There are times when it is not possible for them to avoid

taking the defensive, and giving battle on issues of the enemies' choosing, but their primary objective should be to wrest the initiative from his hands, and to launch a full-scale counter-attack, designed to expose anti-Semitism for what it is—namely, un-Americanism.

Such an attack is impossible without competent agencies, both national and local. . . . Every American aspirant to the Hitler role . . . must meet prompt exposure, not merely as an opponent of the Jews, but as a menace to all Americans. . . . Wherever he goes, exposure must thwart him. He must find himself on the defensive and compelled to retire from the field. . . .

Concisely, what can be done to immunize the soil of American public opinion against anti-Semitism? Here is a summary of the most fruitful methods:

1. Maintaining a vigorous, wholesome Jewish way of life and the strengthening of Jewish institutions.
2. Establishing friendships between Jews and their non-Jewish neighbors, both on an individual and an organizational basis.
3. Jewish sharing in communal non-sectarian work—a good neighbor policy.
4. Bending every effort toward making our democracy function to the greatest advantage of all.
5. Publicizing, in proper ways, such facts as redound to the deserved credit of the Jewish citizenry.
6. Discrediting anti-Semites and exposing of their motives.
7. Conducting educational programs among Jews to eliminate objectionable traits which evoke dislike and contumely. (A task—but not the only one on this list—for religious and educational institutions.)
8. Overcoming misconceptions about Jews.
9. Building resistance to rumors, so that they will not make headway in the Jewish or in the general community.
10. Planning special projects for the express purpose of building good will.
11. Furthering a confident, optimistic attitude among Jews so that they will take proper steps to combat anti-Semitism without fear or hysteria.
12. Maintaining national and local civic-protective agencies.

This formula for influencing gentile attitudes favorable toward Jews assumes a body of Jews true to their own spiritual traditions. It is oriented toward the general community only because of its purpose. It will not solve all the problems confronting the Jews—

only some of them. It will prevent friction and animosity between Jews and others. Unless this is accomplished, lasting security cannot be assured.

Let no one criticize this program for improving group relationships within the United States on the ground that it is not a complete program for Jewish living. No one with a spark of Jewish feeling would claim that it is. The items presented here are limited in their scope to those which serve one purpose, combatting anti-Semitism in such a democracy as ours. They represent activities and attitudes which are helpful to our democracy, as well as to the Jews. They require some organizational structure, which exists to a very great extent and which will be described later. Some of these suggestions for strengthening Jewish security were not tried in the ghetto because it would have been impossible to do so. On the other hand, they are not novel or newly discovered. To some extent, most of these procedures have been in operation wherever Jews have enjoyed the benefits of emancipation.

SOLOMON A. FINEBERG

Overcoming Anti-Semitism, p. 15, 16, 17, 136, 137, 138

513. As long as anti-Semites evidence their insecurity by settling on a scapegoat and nursing hatreds, they constitute a serious breach in the fabric of American democracy. How can this breach be closed? There is no easy method. It requires a struggle on many fronts:

1. We must not ignore or appease organized hate outfits.
2. We must look upon every sign of anti-Semitism as an outpost of the malicious forces at work among us and show our revulsion to anything so alien to our ideals.

We must teach our children the real meaning of tolerance and equality so that prejudice and hatred will be despicable in their eyes.

3. The struggle against intolerance should be advanced on the plane of truth and fact.

A knowledge of the facts . . . will pave the way for cooperation. . . . The responsibility of informing the people rests largely upon three groups. . . . Those who control the press, radio and cinema . . . men and women in public life . . . educators and teachers. . . . They can use the truth as a weapon to scotch the untruths of anti-Semitic propaganda.

4. The Churches of the nation can develop a bold program to stem the growth of anti-Semitism.

. . . Anti-Semitism is the first phase of the persecution of Christians and leads ultimately to the suppression of religion. . . . We should do everything in our power to keep religious differences or

conflict out of politics. The courts, the police, the schools, the state and federal legislative bodies must prevent religious considerations from disguising attempts to seek undemocratic control or to interfere with the free exercise of civil and religious rights.

5. Let us take in our minorities as equal partners.

We should recognize that the greatness of this nation is largely due to the contributions of many peoples and cultures.

6. Let us remove the economic breeding grounds of intolerance.

We must call upon the unmatched ingenuity of our people to discover methods of raising the standard of living of the total population to a level where the breeding grounds of hatred are impossible.

7. The unity of the people is the best safeguard against intolerance.

LEO W. SCHWARTZ

Where Hope Lies, p. 132-136

514. 1. . . . Race prejudice must be combatted by extremely militant means. Legislation must be enacted to punish severely persons guilty of spreading the poison . . . firms must be punished if they practice race discrimination in employment or segregation . . . forcible segregation of all kinds must be combatted and repealed and every variety of legislation must be scrutinized for traces of racial or religious antagonisms.

2. . . . Prejudices lie in the mental and cultural patterns of a people. They are the imprint of a social environment. The social attitudes and their stereotypes are unthinkingly or unconsciously acquired. The average individual does not deliberately and maliciously adopt a prejudice. The trouble lies in the cultural influences surrounding him. Against these the attack must be direct. Pro-social attitudes must be cultivated and inter-racial work stimulated. Wholesome attitudes can be propagated just as easily as unwholesome ones. Stereotypes of a vicious sort can be replaced by stereotypes of a more accurate and friendly sort.

Conditioning better social attitudes and stereotypes towards the elimination of prejudices is the wholesale job of educators, psychologists, publicity newspapers, churches. . . .

3. . . . Economic, social and political conditions are powerful factors in race prejudice.

Along with the improvement of labor conditions must come the elimination of slums, the improvement of housing, raising of living standards and of recreation, educational, and cultural conditions of the masses. This will provide an economic foundation for a healthier psychological condition. The attainment of freedom from want and

the fear of want, the substitution of cooperation and production for use instead of for profit, are economic, social and political changes that will lay the foundation for immensely improved social relations. Political democracy must be extended, cleansed of class and race discrimination, and expanded to include economic, cultural and social democracy.

4. Another process, while not completely successful, is nevertheless an annihilator of race prejudice, namely, that which we term internationalism or humanitarianism in the modern cultural sense. . . . Intelligence and a decent regard for others, an interest in and an appreciation of different peoples, are complex mental states and attitudes and are products of a definite conditioning. Acute observation and sympathetic attitudes require special training and they furnish immunities from race prejudice.

An extensive acquaintance with a number of racial types, a knowledge of their habits, customs, language, literature, humor, music and folk-lore should logically repel any prejudice. It most often does. But there must be in addition to all this cultural enlightenment, a definite international outlook and an intensely warm and sympathetic attitude to mankind generally.

AUGUST CLAESSENS
Race Prejudice, p. 40-47

515. *First, Surface of Friction Should Be Limited as Much as Possible . . .* the rapid Americanization of the Jewish population which set in the wake of the quota system should be instrumental in doing away with some parts of that anti-Semitic feeling which can be traced directly to the foreign characteristics of a great section of the four and a half million Jews in the United States.

Second, Limitation of the Area of Economic Conflict. When a minority comes to occupy a conspicuous position in the economic field chiefly through concentration, it thereby sets itself off as a shining mark of attack by the malcontents and the maladjusted within the majority group. This is particularly true when the minority, using its opportunities, turns overwhelmingly urban, goes largely into manufacturing or the distributive branches of industry instead of into the productive, or crowds the liberal professions as the Jews have done and are still doing in most countries. A gradual readjustment of the inverted Jewish economic pyramid, though admittedly difficult under a system that holds out great rewards only to those on the top of the pile, may be expected to be rendered more feasible and comprehensive with the growth of the tendency toward economic planning and when accomplished, can

become the chief factor in the elimination of that strife and friction which is the mainspring of economic anti-Semitism.

Third, Easing of the Psychological and Social Stresses through an Appeal to the Intellect. Though largely, if not predominantly in instinctive, anti-Semitism is nurtured by influence in the home and in the school which tends to increase its virulence. Thus, the legend of the crucifixion of Christ by Jews occupies a prominent place in a conditioning process which turns millions of Christians everywhere to Jew-hatred. Anti-Jewish characters in fiction, responded to by a wide public, have the same effect of poisoning the psyche against the Jew. Add to this the deliberate falsehoods, fabrications and libels let loose by anti-Semitic propaganda, and you have a formidable virus in the body politic which functions continuously as a source of infection, unless and until checked by an antidote. This antidote is education.

Fourth, Standing on Our Rights and Fighting Back Whenever These Rights Are Violated. . . .

. . . we have mainly to rely on our own militancy and its effectiveness in producing on the public mind the solid impression that we shall not allow ourselves to be treated as second-rate citizens, but are prepared to insist on equal rights and will fight for them when necessary.

Fifth, Raising the Resistance of the Jewish Group . . . it must strengthen its inner defenses so that it will be enabled to withstand all onslaughts if and when they come. Among these inner defenses Jewish consciousness, a feeling solidarity with the Jewish people, constitutes the front lines. However, it must be admitted that they are not sufficient if the fort is to be held against all odds. Behind them there must stretch the buttresses of Jewish education, Jewish learning and a system of Jewish institutions grounded in corporate Jewish life, democratically organized. To the Jewish nationalist such strengthening of the Jewish defenses in the diaspora, coupled with the restoration of Jewish nationality in Palestine constitutes the best guarantee of Jewish survival throughout all the vicissitudes of time.

S. MARGOSHES

The Congress Bulletin, May 28, 1937

516. What is the strategy for the Church and for educational institutions. . . .

1. One of the most effective ways of dealing with the present anti-Semitic propaganda is simply to reveal its relations to the Nazi methods. . . .

2. Intolerance cannot be overcome by intolerance. Careful, positive education by many agencies promises to make itself felt and

to insure that fascism and organized anti-Semitism may be effectively dealt with in the United States.

3. A new responsibility rests upon all alert, socially minded citizens, to help make democracy work in the U. S., particularly to extend economic democracy, promote social security, secure re-employment, etc. Hungry men and women are the most likely to become the prey of unscrupulous agitators. . . . The promotion of economic justice should do much to silence the anti-Semitic organizer.

4. There is need for continuous attention to this issue on the part of the religious press, the Church schools and religious organizations. . . . But there is as yet no adequate program of Christian education dealing with anti-Semitism. An adequate basis needs to be provided for Church and community educational programs. The Christian Churches are called upon to make their own distinctive contribution by influencing the attitudes of their own members, by constant effort to the end that there shall be no anti-Semitism in the Christian Church and in the American community.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
Information Service, June 10, 1939

517. What can we do to assure democracy and to eliminate anti-Semitism at the root?

First, of course, we must fight anti-Semitism directly—by education, by protesting every evidence of anti-Semitism, by the boycott, by giving aid to refugees. This is a fight in the defense of the American Bill of Rights under which our people are not only protected against discrimination on account of religion and race, but are also guaranteed the right to speak their minds, to print books, pamphlets and newspapers, to have public meetings, to choose by secret ballot those who shall govern them. To allow any "whittling down" of the Bill of Rights is to allow its foundations to be undermined.

Secondly, we must put our democracy into the best-working order, extend it throughout the length and breadth of our nation, make it penetrate thoroughly into our legislatures, factories, schools and courts.

Third . . . but most important of all—we must assure a sound basis and future for our democracy by guaranteeing all Americans economic security, employment . . . a fair share in the productive wealth of our country. This is the decisive answer to the threat of anti-Semitism, to the dangers menacing our civil liberties.

DANIEL BOORSTEIN, GEORGE MAYBERRY, JOHN RACKLIFFE
Anti-Semitism a Threat to Democracy, p. 31-32

518. . . . Freedom must be struggled for and won. . . . How shall this struggle be waged? First, it seems to me that the times call for reaffirmation of Jewish rights. . . . Such affirmation must stress constitutional rights—especially the right of a minority to voice unpopular ideas and the right, which has been tacitly challenged, to hold any and every office to which Jews are entitled by integrity and ability. Such affirmation restates religious rights, not in terms of formal tolerance, but as guaranteeing that no subtle or overt discrimination may be practiced against adherents of Judaism and that any . . . office-holder who so discriminates shall be driven from public office. Such affirmation must insist upon cultural rights, so that the language, the tradition, the folklore and the aspirations of Jews may have full and free scope to weave themselves into the pattern of a democratic American culture. . . .

Second, it is imperative that we align ourselves with those forces in American life which are . . . opposed to anti-Semitism. . . . These are the forces of progress and democracy. It is not enough that we passively sympathize with them. We must actively . . . participate in their struggles. . . . Every Jew who champions the underprivileged, the unemployed, the exploited millions of our land, cements enduring and precious friendships for his race. Every Jew who battles to preserve civil and industrial liberties augments the power of resistance to assaults upon Jewish liberties. . . . I urge you, my fellow Jews, to recognize that the cause of Jewish freedom is inseparable from the cause of human freedom—and to act accordingly.

JAMES WATERMAN WISE

An Open Letter to My Fellow Jews

519. What are we to do? Societies for Jewish-Christian fellowship, the attempts to persuade or punish anti-Semites who employ only Christians or squirm into exclusive clubs and hotels, appeals to law against slander and discrimination, apologetic or indignant articles and sermons—these are all palliatives. They too are necessary. They are forms of self-defense. But the main battle lies elsewhere:

1. Help to upbuild Palestine as a national center and to develop Jewish values in the wide periphery of American life. Help to organize the Jewish community or join its organizations, learn Hebrew, study the ancient Jewish literature, its modern development, our history and customs; find your place among our people. The Jewish front is so wide, somewhere you will fit in. And all have their eyes turned to Zion.

2. Help to bring about democratic socialism in America, in the world. Join whatever bodies seem to you to be working for socialist democratic control of economic resources in the country and for economic control of world resources by the community of nations.

JESSE SAMPTER

How to Combat Anti-Semitism in America, p. 78, 79

520. What can we do? Let me suggest three things:

Let us make every effort to keep ourselves free from the taint of anti-Semitism.

We must study anti-Semitic propaganda . . . and run down every charge. The next time you hear a friend say: "The Jew controls this or runs that," ask for a bill of particulars. Request a showing of fact. He is indicting a whole people.

We must engage in group activity in this whole field of racial prejudice. He who sits back in times like these and says: "One person can do nothing," is making himself criminally responsible for what may happen. Join some such organization as the "Friends of Democracy" which is fighting against anti-Semitism and for the ways of democratic and free society. Give it what money you can, circularize its literature. The enemies of democracy, freedom and good will are organized; we must be organized too. Individual effort, our attitude, our action, our living and group effort will reduce if not utterly stamp out this menace.

NORMAN D. FLETCHER

Protestants Answer Anti-Semitism, p. 39-40

521. . . . There is no one solution, one answer—for oftentimes we cannot reach the causes. But there are many approaches to the problem—things we can do which can help minimize the evil—things which you young men and women, boys and girls can and must do:

1. Align yourself with liberal and progressive forces fighting to improve the standards of living of the masses of people.

2. Fight always against injustice, bigotry, and oppression wherever they appear. Remember, whenever a Negro is lynched, or a member of another minority race deprived of his civil, political, economic or religious rights, the Jew suffers. So delicately interwoven is the fabric of liberty and freedom that to permit one thread to be torn or mutilated, affects adversely all the other strands in the pattern.

3. Join a community organization devoting itself to constructive

community projects benefiting all. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with your next-door neighbor who may be non-Jewish, for a new park, community center, or free milk for under-privileged children, can bring about more inter-group harmony than one million printed leaflets protesting that Jews are really nice people and as good as any other citizens.

4. Identify yourself with your Jewish people, with a Jewish organization, whether it be the American Jewish Congress, the Young Israel, the Zionist movement, the local Synagogue or Temple. Learn to believe in yourself and your people. Study the culture and traditions of the Jews. Read about the epochal contributions that have been made by Jewish scientists, historians, writers, religious leaders and jurists. Your heritage is noble. Be proud of it.

5. You must learn to be tolerant of others whose station in life may be lower than yours. You must discard any feelings of superiority based on economic or educational opportunities or pigmentation of skin. You must accept other minorities as your friends and partners.

6. Help in every way possible to keep the doors of Palestine open. Work to have it created permanently as a Jewish Commonwealth, so that those disinherited millions in Europe can find for themselves a home and find there a normal adjustment and at the same time save them from demoralization and self-hatred and help maintain their self-respect.

7. Make friends with Christians in school, at work, in the community projects. Cooperation and a spirit of comradeship will overcome many prejudices and misconceptions that the non-Jew may have unwittingly formulated about the Jew.

In addition to the above there are several tasks which you can ask your non-Jewish friend and neighbor to do:

1. Eliminate from numerous textbooks read by children at Church and parochial school, passages which tend to prejudice them against the Jew.

2. Attempt to re-evaluate the Crucifixion story and present it in a manner conducive to better understanding—and not to hate.

3. Parents and teachers should take the lead by action and thought, in inculcating into the minds of their children and students, an understanding and appreciation of all peoples—of all races and creeds.

NATHAN ZUCKERMAN

Young Israel Viewpoint, February, 1944

522. It seems to me that there are three ways in which Jews can help themselves. The first is the exercise of charity toward the needy among us—and that, I think, is done splendidly in the United States. The Jewish charities in America have a magnificent and amazing record of achievement.

The second of these duties is to attempt to uphold so high, so blameless a standard of citizenship that criticism on this ground would be patently unjust. Upright Jews should assume the responsibility of seeing that others do likewise.

The last, and the most important of these three points, is a tangible demonstration of the fact that the Jews are physically courageous. Every epoch makes its demands. In this epoch many men, and some great women, are volunteering to fight and die. There must be Jews conspicuous among these volunteers. There are many. There must be more.

All over the world today there is a whispering campaign to the effect that the Jews are cowards, that they are afraid, that they prefer to shield themselves behind others rather than to come to their own defense as other people do. This is a shameful attack. . . . There has never been a better time nor a more urgent need for the Jews to come forward and give telling evidence of the gallantry which I, for one, have never doubted.

HENRI BERNSTEIN

Congress Weekly, December 26, 1941

523. In view of what is confronting us, the Jew is almost powerless today. It depends almost entirely on the course of the Gentiles what the future holds. It can be cooperative: mutual assistance, gradual slow assimilation, with justice, fair-mindedness toward all, the racial groups living together in different countries, or it can be injustice, hatred and death.

It looks to me as though the future of the Jews were tied up, as it has always been, with the future of all the races of the world. If they perish, we perish sooner or later. . . .

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

Liberty, December 31, 1938

524. . . . Preventive measures . . .

1. Insistence upon the best possible performance of duty of Police Departments in exercising full responsibility in the protection of individuals, or of groups from any infringement of personal or religious liberty.

2. Creation of committees to draw up and advise public officials

in the execution of an over-all program for dealing with the causes of any infringement of personal or religious liberty. This is a problem which must be the concern of civic bodies, churches and synagogues, unions, patriotic societies, service clubs, schools and educational institutions, parent-teachers associations, and particularly fathers and mothers. There should be a guiding and stimulating agency for their activities. Thus we shall bring home to all our citizens as forcibly as possible the necessity of living in peace and harmony with one another and stimulate all existing groups to new programs and activity to this end.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

Quoted in *The Jewish Forum*, March, 1944

525. In our own country, there should be unremitting effort here and now, to prevent anti-Semitism from gaining headway. First, by prompt and vigorous action against collective or individual violation of the rights of Jewish citizens, any violation of those rights to be treated as a crime, and the perpetrator regarded and punished as a criminal.

Second, there should be a deliberate attempt to arouse public opinion against anti-Semitism. The careless and thoughtless word—prejudice-creating, helping to form sentiment against a race because of dislike of an individual or group of individuals, generalizing from the particular—is one of the most direct paths to anti-Semitism, a prejudice from which no race has suffered as much or for as long a period as the Jews.

Third, there should be concerted efforts to make clear the contribution of the Jews to civilization. The shocking ignorance of today with regard to the Old Testament has brought many evils in its train, among them, the failure to comprehend the gift of the Hebrews to general culture as well as to religion. Eliminate the poetry of the Hebrew Scriptures, its wisdom, literature, the imagery of the prophets as well as their social conscience and their spiritual insight, and the world of thought and expression would pay a heavy price. It is already paying a price in the prevailing ignorance of the Bible.

MARY E. WOOLEY

Quoted in *We Hold These Truths*, p. 110

526. . . . Program to combat anti-minority feeling:

1. Establish inter-faith groups throughout the country, instead of individual groups of Protestants, Jews or Catholics working to end race bias.

2. Organize neighborhood conference of clergy and neighborhood leaders to solve cases through discussion and understanding.
3. Court action if necessary, to bring punishment to hatelers.

EMANUEL CHAPMAN

Quoted in *P.M.*, January 21, 1944

527. Anti-Semitism can be uprooted from the Christian social heritage if Christian leaders take advantage of this crisis.

Two courses of action will be helpful in this undertaking. One is sociological; the other, religious. The first suggestion is that in every American town there be kept open a channel of communication between faithful Christians and faithful Jews: call it a round table, or clearing house, or simply an informal meeting of minds. The point is to communicate, to multiply the number of trusting friends across the lines which separate Christians and Jews.

The other course, fundamental to the first, is personal rededication to God. If one freshens his experience with God as his heavenly Father, and begins each day anew as an adventure in working out relationships with others on the principle of the family, two things will happen. He will become a changed person himself, and our American society will change. If that subconscious, if not conscious cold, uncaring, superior, distrustful feeling toward the Jew, is not faced honestly in the white light of intense religious conviction, then anti-Semitism will not be conquered.

EVERETT R. CLINCHY

Christian Century, November 30, 1938

528. Thus there falls upon the Jewish citizens of the free countries of the world a double duty. The first is to rally to the defense of the democratic principle, the democratic method and the democratic way of life which are the sole guarantee of their equal status as men and as citizens, and to cooperate with all those forces and interests that are concerned to preserve democratic institutions.

The second is to search out and expose the nature, causes and intent of the malicious falsehoods with which anti-Semitism libels each and every Jew, no matter how different and distinct in social, economic, civil, and cultural status the Jewish citizens of one country may be from the Jewish citizens of another, or how Jewish communities may be internally divided. A lie against any one Jewish individual or community contaminates the position and status of all. The Jews of the world are forced to be members of one another not only because of their common history, traditions, faith and sufferings; not

only because of the historic attitude of the Christian world, but because anti-Semitism is universal and endemic, with its own central international organization and well-financed agencies of malicious propaganda.

HORACE M. KALLEN
Opinion, August, 1936

529. In dealing with the forces of anti-Semitism there have been two schools of thought. There are those who believe that the best way to deal with anti-Semitism is by ignoring it completely and hoping that, in the not remote future, the culprits will somehow or other see the light. The advocates of this type of "hush-hush" policy are not in favor of mentioning names, of citing specific facts, or of exposing the malefactors publicly.

On the other hand, there are those who believe that the forces of anti-Semitism must be fought vigorously, without concession and without appeasement. I believe that the most effective method of dealing with the forces of anti-Semitism is by carefully investigating and compiling the evidence, making full public disclosure, and demonstrating that anti-Semitism is a living menace not only to the Jew but to all minorities and Democracy itself.

In the war on the Nazis and anti-Semites, our most powerful ammunition consists in proof of the actual facts. The only weapon we shall rely upon is the weapon of truth, propelled by the force of public opinion.

WILLIAM B. HERLANDS
Anti-American and Anti-Semitic Vandalism
in *New York City*, p. 6, 7, 12

530. The first duty of the millions who constitute our minorities is to expose all this half-anonymous hate to daylight and free criticisms. They should direct the general anxiety away from its American scapegoats to the true causes. They should arm themselves with such authentic weapons of American tradition . . . as will prove that lynching, baiting and discrimination is entirely alien to this democracy. . . . Minorities should unite against obscurantism and reaction. . . . It remains for Catholic, Negro and Jew to serve "both unity and difference" in one movement that involves their being together.

ISADORE ABRAMOWITZ
Jewish Frontier, April, 1936

531. We have not been for ourselves; we have not been on our own side. No more idiotic myth was ever invented than that of the

coherence and common activity of the Jewry of the world. . . . There is a division between East and West, between the assimilationist and the anti-assimilationist, between the Orthodox and Reformed, above all, between the passionate adherents of the lands and policies of their residence and political allegiance. . . . We must come home to ourselves. In the diaspora, the eternal diaspora, we must come home to ourselves. The nations . . . are right in their perception that we are a people. We have been afraid to be a people frankly and openly, because being a people has always meant and still unhappily means in most minds wanting power and being the foe of other peoples. Our history and our present, if we will but use both, prove that a people can be a people without power, jealousy, hostility, that in brief, spiritual nationalism of a new and prophetic kind can exist. . . . The modern Jewish renaissance, culminating in the Palestinian task is capable of being absolutely unifying; it is absolutely pacifistic, it unites the possibility of Jewish cohesion with friendliness toward all mankind. . . .

I do not say that a cohesion of the Jewry of the world crystallizing about the upbuilding of Palestine will solve the Jewish problem or silence the anti-Semite. . . . For the so-called Jewish problem consists in nothing but the uniqueness of our position, in the existence of a people which, though without the physical possessions and common marks of nationhood, is still and always will be a people. We do not want, then, to solve the Jewish problem. To solve it would be to destroy ourselves. We want, on the contrary, to affirm it, to affirm the fact that there can be a people that is never an enemy of any other people, that is never held together by the possession or the hope of power, that has, therefore, represented for centuries and represents now, a type of nationalism that may be the hope of a barbarous and warlike world. We want to affirm the Jewish problem, and by being and remaining emphatically what we are, transcend the reactionary nationalist and anti-Semite everywhere in the world. . . . Every Jew who denies or belittles his Jewishness and merges himself wholly with the people among whom he lives betrays not only his own people but all peoples. For there is no secure hope for mankind except in peace, except in brotherhood . . . in the divorce-ment of nationalism from power, of economic activity from conflict, of the coexistence of nations at war. We have been chosen by the trend of history from time immemorial as the example of a people of peace, a people without power, a people by the force of spirit alone. It is time now to be ourselves. It is time for us to know profoundly

that being, in this sense, for ourselves, we shall also be for all men.

The upbuilding of Palestine answers . . . all the necessities of such a cohesive force as this hour of history demands. Every Jew can be touched by it on some side. . . . It is seen that Palestine not only offers a home to our homeless, not only becomes the symbol of our reaffirmation of our rights to be a people, but offers to all the world the first example of a national community that exists . . . not by might, not by power, but by the spirit. . . .

The extent and violence of anti-Semitism in a given state is a test of that State's relation to any rational concept of humane civilization. The salvation of Israel and the salvation of mankind are one. Hence, the duty of the Jew to himself as well as to his Gentile fellowmen is overwhelmingly clear: To be as a Jew always on the side of the oppressed and disinherited, to be unfalteringly in league with those who work for peace anywhere in the world, to give and expect no return, to resist war and the call to war and the propaganda of war to the uttermost, to do this as a normal self-expression of his Jewishness, to build up in Palestine a State that abstains from power, that knows nothing of rivalry, that will suffer injustice rather than seek to share political responsibility, a State that shall not only restore the preserved of Israel but be a light to the Gentiles.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Israel, p. 246, 252, 254, 255

532. . . . Of the greatest importance in this effort is a long-range program of education against intolerance. Our public school teachers must bend every effort to implant in the minds and hearts of our children understanding and respect for all the races and creeds that make up our nation. . . .

It would be fruitful to devote at least one hour a week of school time to teaching our children the contribution which all races and creeds have made to the progress of our nation, to exploding the shabby falsehoods peddled by the intolerant, to illuminate for them the fact that our country is made up of the descendants of people who fled here to find haven from persecution—racial, religious, political, and economic. Democracy is the birthright of our children. They must be taught to cherish it.

And just as our public schools must bend every effort to form a new generation free from prejudice and bigotry, so the parochial and private schools must themselves enter in this battle.

An important part of this educational program should be directed

toward parents of our children. For all too often, boys and girls, guilty of offenses against other peoples, have picked up at home the hatreds that motivate them.

On a state-wide basis, I would favor the passage of legislation to give further protection against the peddlers of racial hatred. . . .

I favor the passage of a law making the publication or vilification of any religious creed or race a crime.

I favor also the passage of a bill, now before the State Legislature, making the defacing of any place of worship or cemetery a felony.

And on a nation-wide basis, I would urge that the United States' mails be barred forthwith to all printed matter defaming any race or religious creed. I'd a hundred times rather have our boys spend time pinning up *Esquire's* Varga girls than soaking up the scurrilous attacks on minorities in some of the hate sheets still going through the mails.

Finally, it is the duty of every man and woman among us who cherishes freedom and democracy to join in the fight against intolerance. Each one of us must pledge himself to give the lie to bigoted statements wherever they are uttered, to denounce those who spread them, and to teach our children and those around us, by our own example, understanding and respect for all the faiths and races which make up our city and our country.

NEWBOLD MORRIS

From a public address, 1944

533. What is the traditional American method of meeting a menace from without or evils from within? Whether we are facing merely the remnants of the Nazi pattern for America or related forces at home which would rule by might, the objectives of these forces are the same and the solution is the same—the traditional American solution: Attack, attack, attack, wherever the forces of tyranny show their heads.

Let us turn the full light of informed public scrutiny upon every incident, upon every specious argument, upon all those who give lip service to our liberties but condone oppression and ignore attack upon minorities.

Let us awaken an embattled public opinion, an outraged sense of justice, a clear and understanding conviction that the issue is greater than the individual, greater than the Jewish minority of our citizens immediately involved—as great indeed as the very future of our country, for the price of defeat or even compromise with these forces

is the loss of human dignity and decency—the loss of our soul as a nation.

The battle lines throughout the world today are drawn between men of good will and men of ill will. Those same battle lines exist on the home front. Let us proceed by law, as federal prosecutors are now proceeding, to strike and strike hard wherever the facts justify, and let us turn the light of public scrutiny mercilessly upon the soldiers on the home front—our public officials in the cities, counties and states wherever the virus of apathy, indifference or prejudice denies to any citizen the equal protection of the law. Let us with Thomas Jefferson take a new and more fundamental oath of allegiance and say, each of us as American citizens:

"I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of men." . . .

. . . We must think clearly, decide fearlessly, and act decisively. Only then will we keep faith with, and discharge the trust reposed in us by citizenship in this great land.

NORMAN M. LITTELL

Congress Weekly, February 18, 1944

534. A special effort must be made . . . to facilitate some resummptions, as large as possible, of Jewish emigration, that is, of voluntary emigration. And how? On the one hand, by means of Zionism . . . on the other hand, by having the nations, especially certain large nations possessing sparsely inhabited territories, resume a broader policy of immigration. . . . Finally, if necessary, settlement in certain colonial territories must be resorted to. . . .

And yet, as far as anti-Semitic persecutions are concerned, the remedy we have been discussing, emigration, can at best be a mere palliative. Is there anything else to be considered? . . . The more public opinion everywhere is informed and awakened, the more one can hope that persecution will lose ground. Legally, the Jewish populations may appeal to constitutional and international guarantees which have been extended to them. And it is up to the governments of countries to whom the word Justice still has some meaning, to act, supported by public opinion, to compel respect for treaties, which bear their signatures. . . .

And then, then one may hope that the entire civilized world . . . will come to know a fundamentally new and a more just world order. . . .

There remains for all of us, Jews and Christians, to turn toward the invisible powers residing in the heart of men, toward the springs

of history which lie within ourselves, in order to purify these springs.

If we but realized to what point external events and the forms of things depend on the invisible patterns which our free will delineate within us, we would have more confidence in spiritual means.

At the same time, we would renounce fighting hatred with hatred. We would understand . . . the real power of love and truth even over political and social realities.

JACQUES MARITAIN

A Christian Looks at the Jewish Question, p. 74, 75, 78, 79, 80

535. . . . Anti-Semitism is a vicious circle. The weakening of the position of the Jews in a time of insecurity intensifies both their aggression and the aggression against them. The answer is not to be found in trying to arouse the ordinary man to fight for the Jews or for the middle-class world that once protected him and them. In that sense, there is no "solution" for anti-Semitism. The circle cannot be broken by action within it, for it is itself only the visible surface of the problem. Action must be taken with reference to the roots of our social and economic difficulties. If these difficulties are straightened out by vigorous democratic action, we will have gone a long way towards arresting the tide of anti-Semitism and its complete eradication; if not, they will produce the desired fruits of fascism. We could rest assured, for example, that when American society treats Negroes as equals it must have repaired those inequalities in which anti-Semitism flourished. Eradication of inequality may seem too visionary a goal, but paradoxically enough, only goals which seem visionary are attainable. . . .

. . . The effectiveness of anti-Semitic manipulation builds upon the prejudices which are part of our cultural heritage. "Eeny, meeny, miny, moe, catch a nigger by the toe"; "Did you Jew him down?" "Last one is a nigger-baby." The childhood ingrained attitudes which these expressions represent cut deeper and wider than the need of discontented groups to feel superior and to express hatred safely.

Although economic security reduces the potential force behind anti-Semitism, it cannot by itself eliminate psychological attitudes which have grooved themselves into our language and culture. . . .

Attitude or opinion regarding education is what is required here. This is not the same thing as the argumentation about how nice Jews or Negroes are, which we have seen to be of no avail. Rather it is a large-scale utilization of the newer techniques for making people conscious that they hold definite opinions on many subjects which they have acquired by mental osmosis, not by investigation of

the problem. They must be made to realize that they are anti-Semitic, for example, even when they would stoutly deny it. And then education must go on to show on what inherited or manipulated grounds they have become anti-Semitic, and to mobilize those elements in the personality which can appreciate the equal dignity of all men and women.

DAVID RIESMAN

Public Opinion Quarterly, Spring, 1942

536. Anti-Semitism can only be dealt with intelligently as an international organization armed with adequate sanctions. The first step must be taken toward the development of an international bill of rights—as essential a sequel to the formation of an Association of Nations as was the American Bill of Rights to the establishment of the United States.

There are two ways in which the governments can act immediately to restore confidence in the sincerity of their desire to come to the rescue of Jews in Nazi captivity. The first is to call into consultation the representative Jewish bodies and the governments-in-exile which have a right to be heard. The distant promise to consider written proposals, to which no considered reply is ever given, can no longer be expected to carry the slightest weight. Second, the time has come for the two Governments to declare themselves unequivocally on the grave moral and political issues raised by the massacres. It is not enough to condemn the murderers, or even to promise punishment. Wrongs of the most monstrous kind have been committed. . . . Every victim still living is entitled to the assurance that as part of the peace settlement his citizenship and civil rights will be restored to him; that he will have, if he desires to exercise it, the right to return to his place of residence and work; that every form of discrimination will be abolished as the allied armies advance; that his special needs will receive some form of compensation for the livelihood and possessions of which he has been despoiled. And for those who have been irrevocably uprooted and find it psychologically and economically impossible to return, opportunity must be provided to create a new existence elsewhere with the help of international public funds.

The right of asylum, so generously acknowledged by the smaller neutrals, must be recognized by the English-speaking world.

The extraordinary development of Jewish Palestine by what the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations once described as "the greatest colonizing enterprise of modern times" makes it possible, according to expert opinion for the country to receive two million additional immigrants without difficulty. . . .

The threatened ban on immigration must be limited. The doors of Palestine must be opened wide. The Jewish Agency must no longer be denied the right of bringing into the country every man, woman and child who can still be rescued from the Hitlerite fury.

New Republic, August 30, 1943

537. Many diseases are incurable in their advanced stages. Anti-Semitism is such a disease. It is practically impossible to turn an anti-Semite of fifty into a philo-Semite or even a tolerant fellow man. Human prejudice is unreasonable and will not be uprooted among the ignorant who have not the faculty of paying attention or listening to proofs of their errors. . . . For such persons no program of defense will avail; as long as they have their animal rights satisfied, as long as they are employed, though Jews will be cursed, they need fear no more serious reprisals.

The general offensive, then, against these hopeless, incurable anti-Semites, is on the offensive against human misery—against unemployment, a low standard of living, insecurity. It is a platitude that anti-Semitism is more virulent in times of depression than of prosperity. Jews must do all within their power to improve the condition of the country as a whole for every decrease in the general standard of living means a more vicious attack upon themselves. . . .

. . . In the younger generation, however, lies the hope for those who would combat this dreaded disease. Education of the young is the best means of combatting future anti-Semitism, for it is the future manifestation of this plague that American Jews need fear.

Since anti-Semitism is fostered in the very young it must be combatted at its earliest manifestations. . . . As a teacher I have had opportunities of observing Jewish teachers who would leave disturbing impressions not only upon the minds of Gentile youngsters but upon all young children of any taste and breeding. Teachers whose speech is not of the best . . . are frequent objects of derision. . . .

Planners of curricula should see to it that nothing occurs in the literature of early grades to condition children unfavorably against Jews. Teachers themselves must guard against false impressions. If they are Jewish teachers . . . neither by their actions, dress, speech, or thoughts should Jewish teachers give Gentile children any cause to dislike them, because a dislike for them will eventually be transferred to innocent fellow-Jews. . . . Non-Jewish teachers have just as serious a responsibility. . . .

Educators and administrative officials should plan courses . . . teach friendship among all races and religions, demonstrate Jewish contributions to American civilization, and destroy the false foundations of the citadel of anti-Semitism. Courses in history may include achievements of Jewish geniuses who have made the world a safer place to live in. . . . There are many opportunities in this field of educational planning for those who foster good will between Jew and Gentile while the mind is still plastic.

In this program of combatting anti-Semitism by re-education, the Jewish student must play an important part. He must be courteous even when the Gentile is not. . . . Jewish school children should not be loud-mouthed, should preserve decorum in class and should refrain from obtrusively demonstrating their superiority in class. . . . In the colleges, every Jewish student should constitute himself a committee of one to prove to his Gentile fellow-students that Jews have manners, consideration for others, and can be pleasant company.

Many a college student has done his bit to increase anti-Semitism by paying too much attention to his marks while forgetting to press his trousers or to wear proper ties. College is not merely a place where one learns facts; one must make contacts, one must give impressions. Let every Jewish student realize that his loud voice and touseled hair will do as much harm to Jewry as a dozen lies from Streicher, and we shall notice a diminution of the apparent discrimination in colleges. . . .

JOSEPH MERSAND

The Jewish Forum, March, 1942

538. The first law of Jewish self-respect is open and militant self-identification with the progressive principle. All programs of communal Jewish action must proceed from that primary awareness. . . . The three lines of communal activity which the Jews are following today, namely the safeguarding of their local rights, the salvaging of refugees, and the building of a Jewish homeland, must be laid down in terms which are helpful to the progressive spirit in this country and elsewhere. Jews should understand that it is not just a matter of saving their own skins.

To some extent these three activities are automatically anti-Nazi and anti-Fascist. It is a defiance of Nazism-Fascism for Jews to demand equality (or better, identity of citizenship with others), to save Jewish lives, and to contribute to the building of a Jewish homeland. But it is not enough that they should be automatically so.

Every Jewish communal activity must be consciously anti-reactionary. It is a question of keeping the Jew linked with the local and world progressive spirit, of maintaining comradely interaction between them, and of preventing the Jewish community from becoming a cross between a lazarette and a stockade. . . .

Jews should have been concerned with the specific maintenance of Jewish rights from the general rather than from the particular point of view, with the defense of America against the spread of the force principle more than with the defense of their own rights. These rights will look after themselves, if America remains progressive, but they cannot be saved if America goes reactionary. . . .

The Jews must have the courage to declare to the world: "You will have no peace until you have cleansed yourself of anti-Semitism." But he must not interpret this slogan as an indication of his intrinsic importance. Anti-Semitism is much more important than the Jew; its ravages only begin with the Jewish people. A world in which anti-Semitism has triumphed will be a hell for the surviving Jews; it will also be a hell for every human being in whom a spark of moral principle has survived.

If the Jew cannot thus collate his inner problem with the problem of the world, but goes on pleading for special kindness and special tolerance in a world increasingly heedless of these qualities, he must sink into ultimate despair. . . .

Today, we can hope for a dynamic juncture between Christianity and democracy. Their first task is to find the common ground which they should have occupied a century ago. Their second is to convert democracy into a cause, rather than accept it as the incidental effect of economies. Their third is to plan practical action in that spirit. And all three tasks must be undertaken simultaneously.

MAURICE SAMUEL

The Great Hatred, p. 186, 187, 188, 189, 196, 197

539. Two things can fortify us. . . . Every man, woman and child in America must learn to understand and recognize the propaganda technique of "divide and conquer." Whoever preaches suspicion and mistrust of a fellow American on the ground of race, religion or color, is a messenger of national destruction. This knowledge, plus the warmer understanding of our neighbor that comes from working with him on community projects, can keep us safe.

. . . Let every true American solemnly resolve: I will daily deal with every man in business, in social and in political relations, only on the basis of his true individual worth; I will never try to indict a

whole people by reason of the delinquency of any member; I will spread no rumor and no slander against any sect; in my daily conduct I will consecrate myself, hour by hour, to the achievement of the highest ideal of the dignity of mankind, human equality, human fellowship and human brotherhood.

If every one of us shall take that oath and keep it, we shall have gone a long way to overcome group animosities and achieve that accord which is the basis and the vindication of American Democracy.

JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER

How Can We Overcome Group Animosities?, p. 6, 7

540. Today, to us reviewing the past, it (anti-Semitism) appears pure, yes even pure of *prejudice*, because it is not based on any judicial premises. . . .

To recognize this true character of anti-Semitism may be of great advantage to us, even though we cannot propose any means for its cure. The pessimistic result is not entirely negative. Sometimes the recognition of a condition as inevitable and inimitable is not of less value for our behavior than the discovery of means to remove it. Our knowledge of the inevitability of death . . . has become a corrective, stimulating and enriching part of our life and so more valuable than some futile speculations about an escape. By resigning ourselves to the irrationality and essential incurability of the condition of anti-Semitism we may succeed in modifying our reaction for the better. We might first abandon the underlying ideologies of organizations like . . . anti-defamation leagues, with their hope to uproot the evil through persuasion and argument or even through changing our mode of life by a new distribution of professions, by improving our manners, etc. We might save ourselves the disappointment bound to follow such attempts. Every attempt to fight an irrational phenomenon by rational means, mistaking symptoms for causes, is not only futile but also harmful. It leads to that clash with the stone wall, the shock of disillusionment, and all the resulting and lasting consequences. . . .

Whenever we are confronted with an ambiguously rationalized, at times even bashful anti-Semitism, let us courageously penetrate to the truth behind it. In the individual cases of aggression we must of course defend ourselves with all available means, protect our rights and honor and also our life socially, economically, and spiritually we should improve following the demands of our best wisdom and conscience. But let us give up the apologetic squinting; let us free ourselves from the burden of proof for the right of our existence

and also from the burden of finding and removing the causes of that which is itself a prime cause. When called to the last account—it is not we who are the defendants. Let us submit to our fate with reserve and dignity.

Z. DIESENDRUCK

Jewish Social Studies, October, 1939

541. The view widely prevalent in Jewish and non-Jewish circles that by acting in this way or that the Jew might have been able to avert anti-Semitism is based on an illusion. For it is not the Jews who are hated, but an imaginary image of them, which is confounded with the reality, and the Jews' actual "faults" play a very unimportant part in the matter. It may indeed be true that the Jewish people, like all others, is in duty bound to work at its moral improvement; even more than others in fact, since distress and oppression of which it has had more than its share, easily lead to demoralization. The main thing is to work for the productivisation of the suffering Jewish masses and the spiritual regeneration of the whole people, in order that it may be equal to bearing its lot in the right way, with humility and pride, ennobling constraint into freedom. No work is more important for the Jews than this. . . .

Nor does it seem possible to get rid of anti-Semitism by the spread of enlightening literature. Passions are not to be stilled by statistical figures. With facts and figures it is possible no doubt to compete with anti-Semitic assertions . . . but not to reach the bed-rock of the subconscious where hatred has its germs. The terrible thing about hatred is that he who is seized with it as a rule does not wish to be rid of it. He continues to hate without regard to facts or arguments.

So far as we can see, this hatred will flourish for generations and the struggle will surge backwards and forwards. In this conflict the Western democracies have their place assigned, unless they shut their eyes to the fact that anti-Semitism is a means of producing a reactionary national psychosis; the Christian churches too, unless they will deny their Master; all in fact who still regard humanity and justice as the guiding stars of mankind.

HUGO VALENTIN

Anti-Semitism Historically and Critically Examined, p. 305, 306

542. Our final conclusion must be that no immediate and specific therapy for the problem of anti-Semitism is at hand. The most we can do is prevent latent anti-Semitism from becoming overt in the democracies. The only way this latent anti-Semitism may be overcome is by immediate cultural and final racial assimilation. . . . The leaders of both groups must realize how deep-seated is the problem

of anti-Semitism and not rely too greatly on an unwarranted trust in the essential goodness of human nature even in democracies.

Jewish leaders should do what is in their power to discourage the entrance of Jews at the present time into those businesses and professions which are now "overpopulated" with Jews, and distribute them, rather, into others which are "underpopulated"—to discourage, perhaps, the entrance of Jews into professions like that of public entertainment, where they are over-conspicuous. They should discourage rather than encourage closed Jewish colonies and Jewish cooperatives. They may even find it necessary to work against the growth of Orthodox Judaism as a religion. Such suggestions coming from one who is Gentile . . . will perhaps seem impertinent. . . . But they follow in a completely consequential fashion from our social-psychological and psychoanalytical analysis of anti-Semitism and great as the cultural loss may be through assimilation, the loss through annihilation would be more severe in its psychological effects on both Jews and Gentiles.

Gentiles of good will toward the Jew . . . can also help minimize anti-Semitism. Responsible leaders of this group also must realize the deep psychobiological sources of anti-Semitism and the social reality of its conditioning. They must emphasize the danger of allowing young children to be inculcated with anti-Semitism. They must teach their followers to realize the psychological degradation which follows sadistic outbursts of racial antagonism. Gentiles must be taught to realize their debt to the cultural and intellectual accomplishments of outstanding Jews. They must be taught the delusional qualities of Jew-hate and Jew-fear. Anti-Semitism is a deep-rooted symptom of our culture. Its eradication is not at all likely. But its control will be furthered by facing its reality with an open mind rather than by denying its existence or by attributing it solely to the propaganda of vicious individuals or the maladjustments of the existing social order.

J. F. BROWN

Jews in a Gentile World, p. 146, 147

543. What of the future? Will anti-Semitism continue? What considerations govern the answer to such a question?

First of all, the Jew will most likely have to do most of the changing since he is everywhere an almost negligible minority. . . .

Second, to cease to be a cultural irritant the Jew must be completely assimilated. . . .

Third, he will have to be completely absorbed ethnically. This means he will have to marry with non-Jews, generation after generation. . . .

Fourth, he will have to give up all pride in his group and his people's history and denationalize himself as a Jew. . . .

Fifth, he will have to thrust himself into the background in his economic activities and never allow himself to be numerous or conspicuously successful as a competitor in any occupation, profession or other economic pursuit. For if he does, anything that he has about him that might be considered Jewishness will be a ground for antipathy.

Finally, he will have to be absolutely sure, generation after generation, while he is gradually disappearing as a Jew, that he does nothing or allows no chance thing to happen that might arouse any of the age-old latent anti-Semitic prejudices or attitudes of non-Jews. . . .

But the Jew is a mere human being. He cannot change his human nature, which he shares with other members of the human race. . . . All this is asking for the impossible.

Such a summary may seem desperately brutal and darkly pessimistic . . . but the wider his study the more the writer is forced to admit an unyieldingness of elemental human nature in elemental human relationships, such as those involving the urge to survival; a persistence of certain historical phenomena which rest on these, like war, class struggle, and ill treatment of the weak and defenseless; an imperviousness of the lessons of human experience; a longevity of prejudices and attitudes which provide "escapes" from recurring perilous social situations; the breakdown of the national, the humanitarian, the ethically accepted, or the intellectually logical solution at the strategic moment, and the resort to the ancient and repeatedly repudiated but deeply engraved pattern; the tendency of even ostensibly religious and spiritual groups to accommodate themselves to the wiles and ways of the "world" in a crisis, justifying their action by clever casuistry and brilliant rationalization; and finally, the tendency of the "banished" expressions of human nature to continue under new and deceiving names.

We may only hope that man in his essential humanness and humaneness may some day triumph over these. But there is a dead weight of unlovely human nature to be lifted, and a momentum and a time element, which forces us to be wary about predating some of these long-sought necessary achievements. The disappearance of anti-Semitism is one of these.

J. O. HERTZLER

Jews in a Gentile World, p. 98, 99, 100

544. It is becoming increasingly evident that the illogical aspects of anti-Semitism, its blind fury, the futility of any defense

which the Jew can put up, the contradictory and almost neurotic reactions which characterize it, make a rational solution almost hopeless. It is quite possible that a change in the economic order and the bridling of religious forces or the removal of the emphasis upon intense nationalism may weaken and ultimately eliminate anti-Semitism. Considering that progress in human culture is not rapid and change in social structure slow, the probability is great that the same psychological factors will continue to cooperate. This may be a pessimistic view but it unfortunately fits the existing situation.

The conclusion seems to be justified that up to and including the present the Christian world has shown neither the ability nor the inclination to solve the problem of anti-Semitism; and it must be admitted that the Jew, too, has consistently refused to solve it. The only condition on which it can be eliminated, the Jew is neither willing nor able to meet. For anti-Semitism to disappear the Jew must cease to be; but this is precisely what he cannot do and the price he is unwilling to pay. Even allowing for the temporary aberration which forbids the Jew to assimilate, the attempt at assimilation is not always effective. . . . It has failed because it represented an unsatisfactory and not altogether honest compromise, and the world does not long tolerate dishonest compromises. The Reform Jew attempted it with inconspicuous success. Actually the Jew tried to adapt himself without changing. He would be a Jew and non-Jew at the same time. He literally tried to eat the cake and have it, and it simply cannot be done. To remain a Jew in the Christian world one must pay a price and that price unfortunately is anti-Semitism. . . . The Orthodox Jew made his adjustment in a better and intellectually more honest way. He built a fence not only around the Torah but around himself as well, and he let the storms rage outside. . . . This gave him an inner security which the modernized or half-assimilated Jew does not possess. It remains to be seen what Zionism will do. . . .

. . . Paradoxical as it may sound, intelligence alone will ultimately be able to remedy it, the type of intelligence which squares with emotions at the same time that it bridles them. That type is of exceedingly slow growth. As long as blind emotions will continue to motivate human conduct, anti-Semitism will not perceptibly diminish.

I. S. WECHSLER

Essays on Anti-Semitism, p. 172, 173, 174

545. It is obvious that no simple, unilateral solution will be adequate for so complex a problem as anti-Semitism. Nor is it a problem exclusively for Jews; for in its modern form, it is directed

ultimately against non-Jews and the democratic way of life as much as against the Jews. Moreover, Jews constitute so small a portion of the population of this country that the removal of the large causes of anti-Semitism is more dependent on the Gentile than the Jew. Certainly, the destruction of Hitlerism is a prime condition for any amelioration of the problem of anti-Semitism. But that will not in itself eliminate Jew-hatred. The effects of intensive indoctrination will take years to counteract. The adjustment of a war-torn exhausted world to a new democratic world order will involve stresses and strains out of which anti-Semitism may once again emerge.

Fundamental to a solution of the problem will be the co-operation of all groups in the creation of a new social order in which the factor of economic competition will be removed as an element making for prejudice. A social order in which recurrent economic crises will have been eliminated, which will raise living standards, which will provide greater cultural opportunities and facilities for normal psychological adjustment will do much to eliminate the atmosphere in which anti-Semitism thrives. In such an order, many of the impulses today making for active anti-Semitism will disappear.

Jews, too, must actively aid in the vast educational enterprise of developing not merely a tolerance of difference, but an active appreciation of the creative potentialities of cultural diversity. The idea must be not the artificial standardization of culture, but the creative development and harmonization of cultural differences.

It is important that the task of countering anti-Semitic libels and falsehoods be diligently continued; for prejudice is frequently born of and feeds on ignorance. But it would be naive to hope that the dissemination of the true facts of Jewish life can prove a major factor in lessening anti-Semitism of the more virulent sort. For, as has already been suggested, the periods in which anti-Semitism flourishes are those eras of crisis and instability in which reason loses its hold over men's acts, and in which logic becomes less potent a force in human affairs than emotion.

There is, however, one area in which specifically Jewish effort can play a very effective role, and that is in the development of the Jewish National Homeland in Palestine. It is clear that the establishment of a Jewish Homeland will eliminate that permanent status of homelessness and minority existence that has been an important factor in the attitudes non-Jews have held toward the Jews. The absorptive capacity of Palestine, already proven in the settlement of close to a half million Jews, will enable it, in the post-war world

to relieve the pressure of Jewish poverty and destitution in many lands of Eastern and Central Europe, and to lessen the specter of Jewish competition.

A Jewish Homeland in Palestine would, of course, impose no special political obligations on Jews in other lands. But it would normalize Jewish life, by giving Jews everywhere equal status with peoples of other national origins, who have settled in lands other than their ancestral homes. That normalization of Jewish status would have favorable and positive repercussions both on the reactions of non-Jews to the Jews in their midst, and to Jewish attitudes as well. It would save Jews from the demoralization and self-hatred that are the inevitable by-products of anti-Semitism. It would restore Jewish self-respect. It would dissipate the necessity for apologetics in which many Jews feel impelled to indulge. It would prove an inspiring source of Jewish cultural creativity, capable not only of strengthening Jewish life everywhere, but also of enriching Jewish contributions to their various homelands. Palestine, too, can make a significant contribution to the solution of the general social problem which is so closely related to anti-Semitism. During the past few decades, the Jewish National Homeland has become a laboratory of social experimentation. Its ventures in co-operative enterprise, in communal organization, in social progress hold lessons of significance for the rest of the world.

The deepening of the self-respect and self-confidence of the Jew will guard him against despair. The normalization of the status of the Jewish people, the enrichment of Jewish culture, the social inspiration of the Jewish National Homeland will all be important factors in mitigating the evils of anti-Semitism. But they will not destroy it. Complex and intricate as anti-Semitism is, it will have to be attacked by a variety of weapons. It will, of course, have to be combatted wherever it rears its ugly head. Both Jews and non-Jews will have to co-operate in educating people to the facts of Jewish life; in revealing the threat to democracy that anti-Semitism constitutes; in developing the idea of cultural pluralism. Above all else, they will have to join, as they are now doing, to exterminate the roots of totalitarianism. Together they will have to build a new democratic order in which men can live in peace and plenty, in which the dismal story of man's inhumanity to man will be brought to a close. As long as poverty and insecurity continue to torment human beings, they will yield to the temptations of prejudice and intolerance. Only where freedom from want and insecurity have become living

realities, can men hope to live in brotherhood and decency. Only in a world of security and peace can men be free from envy, hatred, and intolerance.

JACOB J. WEINSTEIN

The American Jew: A Composite Portrait, p. 201, 202, 203, 204

546. As the causes of anti-Semitism, and of all race hatred, lie in environment rather than in heredity, they can be cured. That is the great hope of the world today—that for all social evils there is somewhere a remedy. But the causes of anti-Semitism are deep-rooted in the social system. The remedy is not a ready or a quick one. It involves vast changes of opinion in many millions of people. It involves also changes in the economic and international situations which bring the climaxes of hatred and persecution. It must be a long-term program, for only that can ever touch the causes, can ever change the thinking of mobs, parties or nations, or can ever turn their members from mass thinking to individual thinking. . . .

If propaganda is such a tremendous influence in building up anti-Semitism, it is only reasonable to suppose that counter-propaganda will have comparable results. But not equal. It is far easier to arouse hate than friendship, emotion than thought. Any statement made by a Jew is discounted for that reason or may be thrown aside without a glance. The anti-Semites themselves may be even more biased; but they can preserve a better appearance of impartiality. Ordinarily, Jewish propaganda is designed to cure anti-Semitism after it has appeared, when it is already too late, rather than to prevent it by constant dissemination of factual material in advance of the damage done. Besides, factual material appeals to a very limited circle of people, who may or may not be the actual leaders of society; the mass of people, and often their leaders as well, have no taste for analyzing facts. They read or hear appeals to prejudice, vague and glittering promises for the future, and they respond in proportion to their desperation and to the flattery which has been offered them. . . .

Counter-propaganda, however, is a necessary part of any Jewish program of self-defense. . . .

Some Jews have long felt that adjustment to the environment included recognition of special causes of prejudice and preventing their growth. This is certainly sound, with the reservation that any other secondary causes would serve as well. But in so far as these secondary causes are based on real weaknesses in the Jew himself, to eliminate them would mean to improve the Jew and sometimes also to improve his relations with the non-Jew. Jewish manners have

been criticized; they can be improved by training, to the advantage of the Jews themselves. Jews are accused of not becoming American citizens; they can be and are being trained in citizenship and helped to take out their papers. And other possible improvement in the character or personality of the Jews will be of the greatest benefit to them, whether or not the previous accusation is true, and irrespective of the effect on the non-Jews.

The same applies to the readjustment of Jews in occupations and professions. . . .

But the advance in Jewish manners, citizenship or occupations—and this applies to dozens of other matters as well—removes only secondary causes for Jew-hatred. The fundamental causes are untouched, and new reasons can easily be tied up with them, even such a fundamental fallacy as the race theory, which makes no other reasons necessary. Or the accusation of a world-Jewish conspiracy, if believed at all, can be believed as easily of well-mannered Jewish college professors or farmers as of foreign-looking Jewish peddlers or their lawyer sons. Minor causes can be prevented; some results of anti-Semitism can be cured. The real causes are beyond the reach of the Jews themselves.

Various movements within Jewry itself have been regarded as antidotes to anti-Semitism. From this point of view, they certainly fall far short of that, but they prove valuable and even necessary adjustments to the kind of a world in which anti-Semitism exists. The first of these is the development of a more inclusive and more effective system of Jewish education. Every Jewish child should have the same educational preparation for living as a Jew which he is given in the public schools for living as a citizen of his nation. The study of language, history, customs will give him a background, relatively independent of anti-Semitism, which will at least prevent such a pathological feeling of inferiority as that of a Weininger. If anti-Semitism really strengthens the Jew, that strength must be developed in definite institutions. The synagogue, Jewish philanthropies, such self-defense organizations as the American Jewish Committee and American Jewish Congress, all these give the Jews a sense of pride, a real unity, by which they can survive any attacks except the most deadly and can prevent the worst excesses of treachery and desertion from within. While they will not overcome anti-Semitism, they may prove the method for resisting it.

The only real approach to the causes of anti-Semitism is the Zionist movement, and that not for the majority of Jews. Those Jews, a minority of the entire people, who will eventually be able to

go to Palestine, will find for themselves a normal adjustment there. They will no longer be parts of an oppressed minority but members of the Jewish National Home. In that capacity, they will find or create the institutions they need as other peoples have done. Their language, religion, educational system, the social experiment of their many farm colonies—all these will be their own self-expression. But this will not normalize the life of the Jews in other lands, who will continue to live as minorities, oppressed or tolerated as the case may be. The most that Zionism can give them is what the other Jewish institutions also try to give, pride to resist their enemies, knowledge and loyalty to substitute courage for inferiority in their own minds. Jewish movements will strengthen Jews, will influence non-Jewish friends of the Jew, but will by no means touch the anti-Semites.

If this is true of Jewish efforts, what of non-Jewish movements toward good will, mutual understanding and the like? These also are valuable and work in the right direction, but suffer from the same weakness that most of them appeal only to the liberals, the friends of oppressed minorities, from the outset. There have been throughout history a few philo-Jews in almost every period, whose friendship and assistance has encouraged the beleaguered sons of Israel. . . .

But their appeal is to the already educated, the adults. Hence those persons who have become prejudiced through early training are usually impervious to their efforts. They are trying indeed to reach the children through the churches and the church periodicals for young people. If Professor Moehlman's ideas, for example, ever become widely spread among Christian ministers and educators, the crucifixion story would be told far differently in Christian church schools, and the predispositions of millions of people toward the Jews would become radically different. . . .

These great projects for social betterment, the prevention of wars and depressions, are beyond the power of a handful of scattered and frightened people like the Jews. They must engage the best minds of the human race for generations, perhaps for centuries. But if they are ever accomplished, then the outbreaks of anti-Semitism and all varieties of race hatred will decrease, perhaps disappear altogether. The most Jews can do toward this end is to be good citizens, to join with those liberal parties which include in their programs a tolerant attitude toward minorities, to labor with far-sighted and progressive non-Jews toward a better world in which the Jew and non-Jew can live together. . . . Jews who desire their own rights must fight along with the oppressed everywhere. They must be among

the friends of the Negro race, the oppressed minority in America, because intolerance is the same danger to human rights and freedom, however applied and under all different circumstances. . . . Where there is injustice, the Jew is the first and usually the greatest victim. The struggle of the Jew for emancipation must be first of all a struggle in which he is aligned with all victims of injustice in the search for a better world order, for the prevention of war and economic oppression, for the reform or reconstruction of society.

But such a procedure will eliminate only occasions of outbreak and certain secondary causes of anti-Semitism. The final program is nothing less than a re-education of the human race, to train men and women for living together in amity and understanding rather than oppression and resentment. Such a program alone will ever remove the fundamental cause of group hatred and prejudice from the world. It is, on the face of it, not a Jewish program, but a national and international project in which the Jew is simply one of the many peoples to be taught, and one of the groups which are the topic of study.

Such a re-education of the human race is not so visionary as the words appear at first reading. Every program of education has its social background and social purpose. Ordinarily the schools of a country, from kindergarten through university, are designed for the understanding and support of the established order. They teach patriotism, individualism, collectivism—whatever the national leaders feel is the proper policy. . . . The established order rests on the minds of the people who accept it. Any new order, any new way of thinking or of living will in turn depend on the preparation of the minds of the people. Any new system, under modern conditions cannot become stable until fifteen or twenty years have elapsed, and a new generation of children are graduating from the new schools and arising to defend the new order. . . . A general system of re-education, then would begin with the schools and would influence all the organs of education and propaganda.

What should such a new ideal include? . . . It should be a study of human nature. . . . Against the "race science," it should be a study of the actual nature and workings of groups of human beings, with their own customs and ideas; and the origin of hatred and prejudices, with their analysis and automatically, their disproof. . . .

It must be a program of supplanting group thinking with individual thinking, of substituting for prepared reactions of large masses of people direct analysis by each person of the facts which confront him. It will not and cannot aim at preventing all

personal judgments, for those are proper and necessary. It cannot even hope to prevent all personal prejudices, whether against food, art forms, or people. But it can minimize and even prevent the formation of those group judgments which condemn, for purely emotional satisfactions, groups of people because in some more or less important respect they differ from the standard. Whether the difference is one of race, religion, nationality or culture, the problem remains the same. Group thinking about other groups is our menace which only a re-education of the human race can completely eradicate. . . . Anti-Semitism will go only if and when every type of race hatred and group prejudice disappears.

LEE J. LEVINGER

Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow,
p. 300, 302-303, 305, 306, 307, 311, 315-321

547. When we consider the problem of setting up moral and intellectual defenses against anti-Semitism, we must face the undeniable fact that the causes which have produced anti-Semitism are largely inherent in the social order. The accomplishment of our purpose, therefore, presupposes the alteration of some of the basic principles and institutions of our society. And this is no mean task. The need for radical change is particularly stressed by communist ideologists. They contend that the basic source of anti-Semitism is the economic disorder of society. All other causes, they say, are either minor or they are mere rationalizations. Anti-Semitism is a by-product of capitalism. It is because the Jew is the weakest, and yet at the same time one of the most typical figures of the unjust capitalist economy, that he is singled out for attack by the masses. The attack on the Jew, they tell us, is thus merely an expedient, a substitute for an attack on capitalism. Agrarian and industrial magnates and conservative statesmen have frequently utilized anti-Semitism to turn the economically distressed against the Jew and thus to divert attention from themselves, the real culprits. Socialization of all wealth, we are informed, would solve the Jewish problem by removing the inciting capitalists, and by according to all individuals equal economic opportunity and security. . . .

Judaism, as a religion, cannot live a normal life under Marxian communism, and a very appreciable proportion of Jews are still religionists. So that even if we admit that communism would eliminate anti-Semitism there is no question but that the great mass of Jews today—whether they are right or wrong—would not accept this solution. . . .

A Jewish state large enough to contain millions of Jews and

adequate to support them is another obvious solution to anti-Semitism, but it is patent that Palestine will find it almost impossible to serve this purpose. There has been a tendency to overestimate the role that Zionism can play in combatting prejudice against the Jew. Contrary to the belief of some Zionist ideologists I question whether the status of Jewish dignity in the diaspora will improve through the creation of a Jewish homeland. We have no reason to assume that the anti-Semite will heave overboard his antagonism against the "wandering" Jew the moment he discovers that the Jew, who will still remain ubiquitous, has attained some degree of respectability by the acquisition of a political homeland. But it would be wrong to fail to realize what an important part Zionism is playing in this contemporary drama of anti-Semitism, for Palestine is practically the only land which offers a haven of refuge to the victims of anti-Jewish prejudice. But it is more than a physical palliative. It is a messianic hope in the form of a political and social ideal, strengthening the morale of millions who feel that the world about them has failed to understand them.

In the realm of intellectual defense, false charges against the Jew should not be left unchallenged. It is important that impressionable adolescents at school learn their Shakespeare from some other drama than *The Merchant of Venice*; old English ritual murder ballads should be omitted from textbooks, unless you would have people believing in this myth. The term Jew as a synonym for cunning, cheat, and usurer should be deleted from the dictionary and the thesaurus of synonyms. Libel laws to protect the Jews as a group have been very helpful in some countries. Good-will movements created to bring about better relations between Jew and Christian are genuinely helpful. It is true that they are frequently sneered at by the sophisticated, but if they have no validity then neither have international conferences nor any institute designed to bring people together to iron out their misunderstandings.

In order to preclude prejudice at its very source it might be exceedingly helpful if a joint committee of Jews and Christians undertook to examine all Protestant and Catholic religious textbooks with a view to determining what part, if any, they play in inculcating suspicion or hate of the Jew. Steps in this direction have already been taken but a great deal more still remains to be done in the more orthodox Christian religious schools. Such a commission might go even further and consider the advisability of recommending the frank and sympathetic treatment of the Jewish problem in Christian religious textbooks with the hope that the rising generation, if it

does not like the Jew, will at least make an attempt to understand him and to be just to him. And while this commission is engaged in the task it might undertake to analyze the curricula and conduct of our great youth organizations to determine whether they make for sympathy and tolerance for all groups or for a narrow nationalism and an ultimate fascism.

It is important that the ethical note be emphasized in national and international thinking and action. The state in its relation to its component groups and in its relation to the states beyond its borders ought to be motivated by a broad concept of humanitarian justice. The concept of *Staatsräson* by which the state arrogates to itself the right to create its own moral standards in national conduct is inherently immoral. Also the hallowed belief that no state has a right to interfere in the inner life of a foreign power, a belief which tolerates gross abuses against helpless minorities, must be revamped. A concept of spiritual community among the nations of the world will go far toward bettering the position of the Jew in all lands. Nor are the Jews themselves without obligation in this matter. The individual Jew must become more conscious of the need of greater moral responsibility in his own life. It must be remarked that the Jews are frequently judged and condemned as a group because of the actions of a single individual.

It is not too much to hope that as the world gradually expands its sympathies it will view the Jewish minority in a different light. Minority groups have occasionally in history succeeded not only in winning a measure of tolerance for themselves but even a large degree of admiration. The Huguenots of present-day Germany might be cited as an example. A more striking illustration is the case of the pacifist Quakers of the United States who were first hanged like common criminals but who are now revered for their group character. To this hope for a greater tolerance the average Jew might protest with indignation that true liberalism should never even require of him that he justify his existence as a minority. The answer is that no matter what hopes we cherish of a future elimination of the prejudices of the many against the one, actually we are at this moment a minority facing a majority, and majorities still insist that minorities justify their persistent separateness or disappear.

Through what media, one may ask, shall the Jew attempt to carry on his program of improving his position, a program as broad as liberal political, economic, ethical and cultural aspiration itself? The Jew's hope is humanity's hope. There are a host of liberal institutions, groups and bodies making for a more ethical society. The Jew

should associate himself with them as his individual proclivities prompt him, and work to effectuate their goals. There are also a large number of Jewish societies that concern themselves directly with the Jewish problem and with these he may align himself. . . .

There is one assumption which we shall have to accept, namely, that society as a whole is fundamentally rational and potentially humanitarian. If this premise is not admissible, then the historic group known as the Jews must continue to look forward to the future with apprehension. The only hope of the Jews, I believe, lies in an appeal to the masses whose rationality and educability we must assume.

JACOB R. MARCUS

Essays on Anti-Semitism, p. 179-184

548. Anti-Semitism is today no longer the slightly embarrassing thing that it was in the past—something to be counteracted by easy-going, good-will movements. It is a far more sinister thing. It is a powerful and dangerously imminent threat to American democracy. . . . Wherever fascism is on the march—anti-Semitism is its vanguard. . . .

What can be done to counteract this thing? There still remains, of course, the old fashioned but more dependable method of democratic education. Education still remains the strongest bulwark of a free people. Americans should be educated in the techniques of modern propaganda which have been so skilfully elaborated in our day. Courses in the detection of and the prophylaxis against false propaganda of all kinds and particularly race propaganda should be introduced in the curricula of all our high schools and colleges. Our people should be made aware of the methods which are being employed and the true character of the organizations and governments which employ them. They should be informed as to how racial antagonisms are aroused and exploited, in order to divide the people, confuse its councils and undermine its national resistance to aggression. We have long assumed that education in democracy would somehow take care of itself as an unconscious by-product of our day-by-day living. This is no longer true. Quite deliberately and specifically we must begin to educate our people anew and especially our youth, for the principles, practices, advantages and obligations of the democratic way of life. . . .

Democracy generally should cease to be naive, trusting and doctrinaire. The forces hostile to our way of life and to our free institutions must be continuously exposed. No democracy is immune, as long as it is a democracy, from anti-democratic propaganda, either

native or foreign. Forces opposed to democracy will use the very apparatus of democracy as well as its abundant tolerance to destroy it. In the face of this, democracy must not remain complacent. It must aggressively and relentlessly expose and harass every form of propaganda which is hostile to our basic conceptions of life and government.

Laws should be enacted—if they do not already exist against the public vilification of any race or religion, and against the incitement of people against any race or religion. . . .

Increased opportunities for contact between all racial and religious groups in America for the discussion of their common problems, and for a survey of all areas of friction, are highly desirable. . . .

The times call for frank and honest criticism on the part of all, Jews and non-Jews alike, and particularly on the part of those who constitute the majority; for after all, the solution of anti-Semitism lies with them. It would be very helpful if each group would begin to beat its own breast instead of beating its neighbor's breast, and would confess "mea culpa."

What is needed most in order to stem the rising tide of race prejudice which would disfigure our common life is to discipline ourselves to treat men as individuals. It is not an easy thing to do, but we are not concerned here with easy problems or with easy solutions. The chief characteristics of the democratic dogma is the concept of the free human being and his inalienable private rights. Before the rise of democracy in Western Europe, before the rights of men were proclaimed, individuals were treated legally, socially and economically, not in relation to themselves, but within the framework of an associated life in relation to the group to which they belonged . . . nobleman, cleric, military, peasant. It was a hierarchic, a feudal arrangement of social life. It was from a long experience with that kind of social organization that we have carried over the practice of judging men collectively, within the fixed molds. Democracy re-discovered the human being, the individual who derived from his creator—not from society, or from his class—certain fundamental rights which were, accordingly, his inalienably, and he is entrenched in his own rights. He is to be judged on the basis of his own worth, merit and ability. He is not to be handicapped or advantaged by any fortuitous circumstances of class, creed or color. The mere genius of democracy is to treat men on the basis of his inherent humanity, and his inalienable human rights.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Social Action, January 15, 1943

549. . . . It will be long before the problem will be solved. Meanwhile, we are not utterly helpless, nor ought we be inactive.

First, we can acquaint our people with the facts. We must recognize the existence of prejudice. It is largely based on fear, the fear which lives by rumor. . . . There is only one sure defense against rumor. We must quash it by our own articulate attitude of disbelief, by recourse to the facts, by the preaching of the Christian gospel.

Secondly, we can help to keep alive the warm humanitarian impulses characteristic of America at its best. We should remind one another of America's tradition of asylum for the persecuted. . . .

Thirdly, we can set up discussion groups and public meetings . . . for the frank consideration of the issues which separate Christians and Jews. This is fundamental in our educational approach to the problem. . . .

ALFRED SCHMALZ

Advance, April 1, 1939

550. Such persecution is not confined to racial or national minorities. It is not even confined to religious minorities. The Catholic Pole, the Protestant Czech, the Lutheran German, may find himself in the same category as the Jew. Nor is it confined to particular economic groups.

What can we do to meet the danger? We cannot afford to wait for "incidents" or riots to occur; we cannot approach the problem by a solution of isolated cases of discrimination and persecution, as the tendency has been so far. We must attack the problem at its source, now.

The obvious method is by education—in the home, the school, the church, and in public life. But ordinary means of education are not swift enough. Community leaders must be awakened to the need of studying and understanding the problem. Joint conferences of majority and minority leaders must be held. The urgency of our situation requires a national campaign directed toward the creation of inter-group co-operation and the elimination of untruths and hate propaganda.

To be successfully treated, minority problems must be broken down into workable units and disposed of at an understandable and sympathetic level that takes into consideration conflicting as well as co-operative tendencies. This is practical, democratic procedure. If propagandic documents like Lillian Smith's *Strange Fruit* were to be followed all at once, there would be instantly a breakdown of group habits, a breakdown of the cohesive things that hold our society to-

gether. The change would result in devastating confusion. Conflict would be created, but not co-operation. When it is considered how much time and care must be expended in changing individual habits, it can be realized how much more caution must be expended in reshaping group habits. The spectacle of a South ridden by ignorance and demagoguery caused primarily by the cruel Reconstruction days was not strange fruit, but a crop that was to be expected. And the nation that has such a canker at its core is going to pay as a whole in bitterer fruit.

Both majority and minority must be brought to realize what they stand in danger of losing. All Americans must understand that our minority problems are to be treated—and are solvable—within the framework of democratic cooperation. Leaders of the majority must make every effort to see the point of view of the minority—to understand and evaluate fairly its disabilities and grievances. Wherever a group is deprived of opportunities open to another group, intelligent people must count the cost to the whole nation; and community leaders must plan a program—a long-range program, if necessary—that will open the needed opportunities so soon as both majority and minority are prepared for the change.

All Americans must be taught to look at every man as an individual, not as a personification of a group or race. We must recognize that there is no such thing as just a "nigger" or "wop" or "kike"—that every group (including our own) is made up of good, bad, and indifferent people, each with distinct intelligence, character, experience, and possibilities for good or evil. Part of our need, in this regard, is for better manners; no matter what group we belong to, we can avoid name-calling and the attitudes that antagonize. People who go out to assert their rights in a nasty way, always find someone to challenge them; every man with a chip on his shoulder finds somebody ready to knock it off. We need to teach again the old American doctrine that a man proves his rights by living up to his responsibilities.

In the matter of racial pride and patriotism, both majority and minority must develop a saner attitude. Neither democracy nor the world has any place today for patriotism of the destructive kind—patriotism directed *against* somebody else. What we need is real patriotism—directed toward making our own race and our own country the best that it can possibly be. This requires that we recognize the good and the bad done by other races and by our own, and that we profit from both. America is made up of many races, and we must study and evaluate the contribution of each, in order to under-

stand what our own race has contributed and in order to know what America is.

All our minority problems are urgent; but one, for complex reasons, is perhaps more immediate than the others, and may furnish a test case to determine the strength of our democratic ways. This is anti-Semitism. It has been spotlighted by Hitler. It has world-wide significance. It thrives in the fertile ground of bigotry and hatred. An organized campaign against the Jew was already under way in America before the war. Throughout the world, the status of the Jew has become a sort of weathervane, an indication whereby the state of society may be watched and gauged. Once picked as a scapegoat, individual or group, it is difficult to escape that role; and persecution of the Jew has been tied up with every great move in the past toward the crushing of liberalism. This does not mean necessarily that the Jew has been a leader in the growth of liberty; but it does mean that where the Jew has been accorded liberty, there has been no great problem about the liberties of other peoples.

If the organized program of Jewish persecution launched before the war is resumed after it, it may justly be assumed that the struggle is on to crush democracy. And if enough people who believe heart and soul in democracy do not stamp it out (much as they finally put down the Ku Klux Klan after the last war), then all hope of liberty for the Christian as well as for the Jew is remote. "Never before to any comparable degree have the fate of the Jew and the whole cause of human freedom been so interwoven."

The problem is one for both Jews and Christians, and the forces for education and enlightenment must be marshalled quickly and effectively.

First of all, the Jew must believe that the problem can be solved. To assume a fatalistic attitude, no matter how much it may seem to be justified by history, is to admit defeat from the start. The oversensitiveness that the Jew has developed during centuries of persecution needs to be overcome. It is this sensitiveness which results in attitudes that anti-Semites cannot sympathize with, because they do not understand the cause. The subservience of the Jew, as well as his aggressiveness, are opposite external expressions, both of which stem from this inner sensitivity and feeling of insecurity.

Every Jew capable of leadership must be awakened. Dr. Fineberg, in his excellent study of public relations, *Overcoming Anti-Semitism*, has pointed out the necessity for what he calls "poise." Too much humility as well as too much bristling and ranting plays into the hands of the anti-Semite. Instruction in "poise" should be

given by trained people who have been selected for their fitness, knowledge, aptitude, tact, and experience in human relationships. The leaders of the Jews must accept as a practical proposition the responsibility for the entire Jewish group. If persecution should come, they would suffer along with the lower stratum of Jews, and theirs would be the greater responsibility.

Practically speaking, the very first objective should be to substitute for the sensitive pride of the Jew a pride in real achievement. Let the Jew keep his pride of race and religion, the things that have sustained him for centuries. But let him also be proud of his contributions to American life, as well as to the culture of every nation of which he forms a part. "It is the Jew who, proud of his own heritage and freely acclaiming it, does most to elevate the position of himself and his co-religionists." This would, of course, involve the admission that the Jewish group has its gradations even as the Protestant and the Catholic groups. The American Jew feels that he is an American because he is in America. He has proved it in many ways. He is an average citizen of average qualities and character. He is a member of the Republican, Democratic, Socialist, and other political parties that American Christians belong to. There are good Jews, bad Jews, rich Jews, poor Jews, intelligent Jews, stupid Jews, in about the same proportions as there are Christians. And, contrary to whispering campaigns, there are as many Jews, proportionally, in the armed services of their country as Christians. Statistics prove these statements.

Actually, then, the Jew has a right to be proud of his contribution to American life, and he is proud of it. But, since he is the first target for the enemies of democracy, he has to be more careful than other men to do nothing that could be interpreted as failure to show devotion to the principles that guarantee his freedom. The Jews should convince the doubters that their efforts are aimed first toward the well-being of America and second toward the well-being of the Jews. This demands not a dissolution of Jewish groups but a constant cherishing and demonstration of their devotion to the democratic way of life. "The only possible salvation for the Jew is to make himself known to all his fellow-citizens (except the handful of die-hards) in such a light that they will refuse to give credence to malice."

The Jew should make certain also, that he never converts a single person with a small amount of prejudice against him into a confirmed enemy. Every Jew has a personal responsibility to see that everything is done to overcome prejudice against him in the minds of those who are only mildly infected. He should make sure that any investigation of "incidents" that constitute discrimination should not

harm the accused; previous displays of prejudice should not discourage him from quietly attempting to make a right-thinking person out of a mildly prejudiced one. Above all, he should see that the innocent do not suffer with the guilty.

All this involves more than educational efforts among the Jews only. It involves a series of dignified, well-written, and absolutely sound articles and books about the contribution of the Jew to American growth and progress. But this program must be kept on a plane of great reasonableness and dignity, and must never descend to blatant propaganda, which would do more harm than good. As Dr. Fineberg has put it, "The undeviating objective of a program for establishing security against anti-Semitism must be to make Jewish life in America as admirable as possible and to see to it that Jewish reputation is as good as Jewish character."

But the problem is not for the Jew alone. The overcoming of anti-Semitism is irrevocably linked with the task of maintaining the democratic way of life. The struggle is not between Christian and Jew, but between lovers of democracy and those who, either because of bigotry or greed, would enslave. And this may be done in the future by *political* and not by economic methods. Just as there have been many non-military men with the Napoleonic complex, so there may be many who fancy themselves as little Hitlers—and that right here in America.

Every effort must be made to keep clear and swiftly moving the great current of American opinion which so far has ultimately swept away every extreme manifestation of intolerance and group hatred. Every exploiter of racial or religious hatred should meet with forthright denunciation. America cannot accept such leadership, whether it be inordinate ambition masquerading as enlightened political theory or basic greed assuming the guise of economic necessity.

The non-Jew has as much at stake as the Jew in maintaining the essentials of democracy. It is an undeniable fact that today all progress is based upon interdependence in all phases of life, social, political, economic. Americans have learned by bitter experience that what happened in Germany and Japan was very much our business. The hundreds of billions of dollars it has cost, the millions of casualties in the armed forces, the disorganization of our social, political, and economic structure, and the strengthening of the ever-present elements that seek to destroy democracy must be reckoned with. To shrug our shoulders and act as if the threat to the Jews were none of our affair, when it indubitably has within its framework the threat

Good sportsmanship and fair play have always been cardinal features of American thought and action. To place the solution of the Jewish problem on this level would be to raise it to a functional level. Such a program would redound to the credit of the non-Jew, and it is necessary in winning the game of democratic living.

In a practical way, other Americans must be brought to understand sympathetically the fact that the Jew needs help to overcome his over-sensitive pride, which is a by-product of persecution. Community leaders must co-operate generously and effectively by making certain that information about the Jew's contribution to American life is given proper publicity. There must be a sustained program toward the elimination of current untruths and anti-Semitic propaganda.

There is no reason for despair at our situation. Progress toward democracy has been slow, but it has been real. Those who believe in the goal today must accept their responsibility: to work toward the ideal and to put down hatred, fraud, and persecution, the greatest enemies of democratic procedure. We can learn one sure lesson from the failure of European democracies: only a people who play fair with each other and respect the rights of minorities can maintain democratic self-government.

Let it be remembered that every frightened or mistreated man, beaten by a mob or scurrying down dark alleys, stands as symbol of danger to all America.

Southwest Review, Winter, 1945

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Book V

NEGRO-JEWISH RELATIONSHIPS

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CHAPTER I

ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE NEGRO

1. DANGERS

551. An oppressed people makes the most fertile medium for the seeds of Fascism. Negroes are oppressed. Fascists know this. . . . They are responsible for it. They seek to capitalize on the suffering of the Negro in ways that further serve their ends. The Jews, they tell the Negro, are responsible for his sufferings. Jews are made the villainous persecutors of the Negro . . . economically, socially. When Negroes believe these things they are set against the Jews and open conflict is provoked. . . .

By nature the Negro is not anti-Semitic. He therefore must not allow himself to be victimized by the subtleties of the Fascist foe. Those who would so deceive him are legion and come disguised in many varied forms. . . .

If a Negro is deceived into becoming anti-Semitic . . . he is at once shaming his race, betraying his country and blaspheming God. Our comfort lies in the positive knowledge that the Negro . . . has never been and will never be this unsuspecting tool of domestic or foreign born Fascism.

BEN RICHARDSON

The Protestant, June, 1944

552. The greatest tragedy in a tragic world is that minorities here and abroad have been so self-centered and selfish that, as a whole, they have been concerned with and disturbed by only the things which happen to themselves.

Religious minorities have even joined in persecution of other religious minorities . . . kicking about or looking down superior noses at other racial minorities which happen to be "inferior." . . .

Of no two minorities has this been so true as of the Negro and the Jew in the U. S. We have utterly failed to realize . . . that the roots of anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism are identical. . . . Bigots always begin their bigotry against the most vulnerable and weakest group. . . . When the first group has been subjugated then the bigots start on the next most defenseless minority. And from there to the next until the human and civil liberties of minorities and majorities alike are destroyed. . . .

Among both Negroes and Jews there is the sentiment especially among the more well-to-do that the extension of anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism can be ended by deluding oneself into believing that they do not exist. . . .

I firmly do not believe that this is the answer to either one of the prejudices from which these two minorities suffer. I do not contend that we who are persecuted should spend our entire lives at wailing walls . . . we must instead, recognize racial bigotry for what it really is—escapism amounting to a disease on the part of those who in terror and selfishness seek a scapegoat for their own miseries and shortcomings.

Those who are the object of the attack are playing Hitler's game when they indulge in any form of prejudice or superiority towards others who are victims of the same evil forces of oppression.

WALTER WHITE

Hebrew Union College Monthly, April, 1943

553. There is evidence that here in America an acceleration of anti-Semitism through organized groups is taking place and racial antagonisms long thought dormant are coming to life. The propaganda of these groups has even been disseminated among Negroes some of whom have unwittingly become the instruments of those who would destroy the Negro as well as the Jew. It is, to say the least, unfortunate, for it reveals a pathetic shortsightedness on the part of Negroes who should know better.

The Negro press and Negro organizations have a solemn duty to perform in utilizing every resource at their command to halt this brazen attempt to enlist Negro participation in the spread of a philosophy which would retard the Negro's progress immeasurably and ultimately condemn him to re-enslavement.

To great-hearted, liberal, far-seeing Jews the Negro owes much. But even if not a single Jew had ever raised his hand in his behalf, the Negro must of necessity combat every appearance of anti-Semitism, every expression of the doctrine of racial superiority. Any other course is the very apotheosis of stupidity. Any other course is suicidal.

ELMER A. CARTER

Opportunity, October, 1938

554. It is clear that ethnological theories have been a part of the philosophy of peoples since the middle of last century. Although they have been most widely accepted in Germany, these theories have also gained a strong foothold in the United States.

Because the belief in racial theories has been so widespread for almost a century, it is also neglected in the attitudes of minority groups. The Negro minority in the United States is influenced by its relationships in the social scheme with the dominant group. Negro attitudes develop out of this complex situation. For that reason some of the anti-Semitism among Negroes illustrates their absorption of the accepted philosophy, and the Negro anti-Semitism is almost parallel to that of the dominant group. . . .

Anti-Semitism provides for many Negroes an outlet for their feeling of frustration and resentment at the limitations which are placed upon them. They are following the familiar pattern of looking for the scapegoat. It must be realized, however, that indulgence in anti-Semitism is a dangerous luxury for Negroes.

LUNABELLE WEDLOCK

The Reaction of Negro Publications and Organizations to German Anti-Semitism, 1942, p. 207

555. None of the three groups is without fault. Negroes have held back—been super-cynical about working with other groups. Many Jews have not wanted to work with Negroes for fear that they would have the additional burden of anti-Negro prejudice to bear along with anti-Semitism. Labor, in all too many instances, has chosen to fight labor's economic battles alone and give only lip service, if that, to the social problems of minorities. All have been afraid of being identified with the other—none have been willing to take the initiative in getting together.

Let all of them think this over. The forces of reaction are lumping Negroes, Jews, and labor together. Perhaps they will divide and hamstring them one at a time. The dangerous and disastrous spread of anti-Semitism among Negroes, of anti-Negro feeling among Jews and of anti-labor feeling among both has not come about by accident.

The Jew, the Negro, and labor are all in the same pot. They had better figure out some common defense.

HORACE R. CLAYTON

Pittsburgh Courier, October 23, 1943

2. ALLEGED CAUSES

556. There is not now, nor has there ever been any pronounced or widespread anti-Semitic feeling among Negroes.

Racism has no place in their thinking. At no point in the history of the Negro and Jew in America can there be found any evidence

rent than the Negro landlord. Moreover, the Jewish landlord and real estate agent are directly responsible for Negroes occupying such decent dwellings as they do, even though crowding and neighborhood frictions are onerous. There is little basis for accounts of exaggerated friction between Jewish merchants and their Negro patrons. . . .

But the persistent allegations as to Jewish dominance of commerce and industry sedulously fostered by Axis agents . . . have found lodgment in many Negro minds. When some Negroes fail to get jobs, they often ascribe their failure to Jewish employers or Jewish stockholders, even though in many cases Jews have no connection whatsoever with the stores or factories concerned. . . .

Negro-Jewish cooperation is not a matter of expediency, merely because of Jewish fear of Nazi triumph. It began a long time ago, and stems largely from the Jewish passion for social justice.

During the isolationist-interventionist debates of last year, Negro audiences were preyed upon by agitators who attempted to prove that this was a Jewish war and that the Jews wanted the Negroes to fight in order to ensure the safety of Jewish property holdings! Tragically false, of course—but strong and heady wine for bewildered angered colored men and women who saw defense jobs given to everyone except themselves. . . .

The bitter hangover is evident today, despite the very real gains made by the Negroes in defense jobs. In recent months some anti-Semitic matter has crept into the Negro press. For the most part it is the least responsible sector which has published such material. . . .

It would be a mistake to conclude that there is a Negro-Jewish problem in the nation. There is not. The Jews are simply the victims of an overdose of the anti-white psychology unfortunately gripping the large masses of Negroes. Complicating this intense, widely distributed anti-Caucasian feeling is the anti-Semitism fostered by domestic Fascist agencies and Nazi propagandists.

The biggest threat to interracial amity, however, looms in the prospect of a dreaded economic recession after the war. . . .

White men who had been to war returned home and saw Negroes holding jobs hitherto reserved for "whites only." Negroes who had fought and suffered at the front, always less able to get work than the whites, became aroused when they saw white men employed while Negro war veterans were idle.

Moralize as we may, a man's job is his life. Irritability passes when economic stability is achieved.

Of all America's peoples, the Negro can least afford to adopt a career of violence. He is the most vulnerable minority.

Though still persecuted and still discriminated against, both groups can be at peace only in a democratic society. Enriched by American freedom, the Jew and the Negro have everything to gain by perfecting the cooperation between them which redounds to the advantage of each and of their country.

CHANDLER OWEN

National Jewish Monthly, September, 1942

559. The more overt and intense forms of anti-Jewish sentiment among Negroes are to be found clustered about certain rather definite areas of competition and conflict. These arise in main, from the face to face contacts with the landlord, the merchant, the employer of domestic labor and to a lesser degree, the professional man.

In the congested areas of the northern cities where Negroes have been jammed since their great trek from the South during World War I, the housing problem has been and still is acute. Residential restrictive covenants and "lily-white" agreements among property owners keep the black folk crammed into a ghetto. . . . "One block in Harlem . . . is reputed to be the most crowded dwelling area in the world."

It is difficult to ascertain the proportion of all these landlords who are Jews or to establish statistically whether the Jewish landlord exacts higher rents than others. Probably not. A landlord is a landlord—be he Negro, Greek, or Turk. Nevertheless the belief is widespread in the Negro community that a large share of the exploiting landlords are Jewish. Add to this the "high visibility" (often a distinguishing appearance) of the Jewish apartment owner or agent and the widely circulated myths about Jews and you have the stereotype of the "gouging Jewish landlord."

The merchant-consumer situation is similar to that of the landlord-tenant. It is very well known that the retail stores in the Negro neighborhoods fleece the housewives in innumerable ways. . . . Again, the statistics are not exact as to the number of Jewish merchants guilty of such dealings; still their share, in popular belief, is large.

The objective observer is thus able to understand something of the nature of anti-Jewish feeling among Negroes in the United States. To start with, there are the general, over-all latent stereotypes which have been lodged in the minds of Negroes by foreign and homegrown anti-Semitic propaganda. But these, more or less,

inarticulated views would not have the excellent opportunity of coming to the surface and expressing themselves in abuse and occasional violence but for the experience of contact, competition and conflict with landlord, merchant, employer and medical doctor. Renters, consumers, cooks, maids and medical men moving about with the Negro community, telling and retelling their experiences are decisive in crystallizing sentiment. Extreme racialists exploit these antagonisms for their own purposes.

L. D. REDDICK

Negro Quarterly, Summer, 1942

560. Anti-Semitism produces strange bedfellows. Under its aegis, Nazi and Negro can lie down together, like the traditional lion and lamb. The Nazis, when they wish to stigmatize a race, call it "Negroid." Yet so contagious is anti-Semitism that Negroes, also are infected with the Nazi virus, which insinuates itself even into that race whose members are themselves subjected to the severest forms of discrimination. . . .

Many Negro leaders have ascribed the beginnings of anti-Jewish prejudice among their people to the influence of Nazi propaganda, and although this, no doubt, is a contributing factor, the underlying basis is economic. . . .

The question however is this: Are these housing conditions (in Detroit) peculiarly the fault of the Jew or the Jewish landlord? . . . The majority of the dwellings, especially apartment buildings, today are owned by banks, insurance and mortgage companies, and not by individual Jews. They are managed by individuals whom the Negro tenant does not even see. His only contact is with the rent collector representing the large company. . . .

Quite different is the situation, however, where the owner of the apartment is not a large corporation but the individual Jew, who himself comes to collect rent and look after the dwellings. Upon him the Negro can hurl abuse, for he sees him very often and has frequent personal contact with him. And when the Negro complains of abuse, he then thinks in terms of the individual landlord who may have wronged him, but applies his invective . . . to the Jewish group as a whole. Mr. Cohen, Mr. Goldberg, the individual Jewish landlord, can be much more readily insulted and abused than can the Podunk Bondholders Corporation to whose office the tenant never has access.

Let it again be emphasized that the Negro has a legitimate complaint on the rental issue. . . . But let it also be made clear that there is no Jewish issue involved. The problem is an economic one. It is unjust for the Negro to vent his feeling of outrage upon the Jewish

group simply because the Jew is a convenient scapegoat for the perennial sins of the universe.

The argument that Jews deliberately discriminate against Negroes when hiring help for their stores could be dismissed without comment were it not for the seriousness of the charge and its implications for race relationships. Most of the shops on Hastings Street which are owned by Jews are of the type that can continue to exist only through hard work contributed by the entire family . . . long hours of toil by parents and children. The total number of large establishments employing two or more hired workers is very small, so much so, that even if all had colored help exclusively, it would still be no solution to the Negro problem of unemployment.

But what of the "unjust and unethical competition" of Jewish merchants? . . . Rightly or wrongly, it has been considered axiomatic in the business world that he who cannot, for one reason or another, compete with his fellow businessmen, falls by the wayside. The survival of the fittest is a hard and sometimes cruel process. . . . When a colored merchant suffers from competition by a Jewish merchant, his antipathy is displayed toward the entire Jewish group and the Jews as a whole suffer. The one Jewish merchant, in the eyes of the Negro, then becomes typical of the "unjust and unethical competition." An economic problem has in his eyes suddenly become a specifically *Jewish* problem. The individual becomes identified with the mass, and the Negro projects his own shortcomings onto the entire Jewish group. The old stereotypes of the Jew are set up.

WILLIAM R. BOXERMAN

The Reconstructionist, October 27, 1939

561. Anti-Jewish sentiment among Negroes—is a very recent manifestation, perhaps ten years old. At first it was hardly more than faint gossip, uneasy rumor, an almost imperceptible feeler radiating from the Back-to-Africa movement. Its effect upon Negroes was negligible. . . . Marcus Garvey was the first Negro to raise the "Jewish question" in Negro life. He disclaimed being anti-Semitic, but he spoke of "Jewish control" of the Negro's economic life.

The rise of Hitler . . . threw . . . focus on the Jews, giving momentum to propaganda against Jewry in the United States. Its overtones were heard in the Negro community. Against this background was the depression, with thousands of Negroes facing actual starvation. With the arrival of Jewish refugees . . . stories circulated that they would . . . take the jobs of Negroes. . . . When Negroes sought to obtain employment within the limited orbit of the Negro com-

munity . . . they eventually were brought into headlong clash with the small shopkeepers who were mostly Jews. Together, these developments made the "issue."

Actually, the whole business of anti-Jewish sentiment among Negroes is largely an urban manifestation, and stems directly from the Negro's own depressed condition socially and economically, and is essentially an *anti-white* manifestation. . . . The Northern Negro comes into contact with the white races, and thus *white* discrimination and *white* antipathy, at four vital points: fellow worker, landlord, merchant and employer. It is within these areas that the friction between whites and blacks exists. By some unique accident, it is the Jew who is today the Negro's main point of contact with the white race—landlord, merchant, employer, and to a small degree, the professional people. Thus the treatment which the Negro experiences from the white group is mainly at the hands of Jews.

. . . The merchant-consumer relation is . . . a chief source of anti-Jewish feeling . . . the Negro's inability to meet regularly any kind of payments creates irritability; and if pressed for payment, he is stirred to anger, which is expressed in hostility to the merchant.

. . . It is a fact that the retail stores in Negro neighborhoods overcharge outrageously. . . . Investigations . . . have revealed . . . that the merchandise sold . . . is usually second-grade stuff . . . and the prices excessive. . . . Furthermore, the Negro complains of dishonest weighing and short-changing. Because the merchants in Negro neighborhoods are mainly Jewish, these charges are placed at the Jews' doorstep. Obviously, sharp business practices are common to all merchants, gentiles as well as Jews.

. . . Not Jews alone, but the entire white Christian community herd Negroes into Black Belts. . . . The situation is not of the Jew's making, nor . . . of his inspiration, but he receives much of the abuse intended for all whites.

No statistics exist to determine how many Jews actually own the properties in which Negroes live. More often it is a bank or large real estate interest which owns the property. . . . Housing authorities regard the number of properties owned by Jews as extremely small. . . . Actually it is either the renting agents or rent collectors with whom Negroes have contact, and since many of these are Jewish, the popular belief prevails in Negro neighborhoods that the large majority of the landlords are Jewish.

The pawnshops owned almost entirely by Jews in the Negro neighborhoods constitute another . . . problem. . . . Negroes complain that the pawnbroker . . . drives a hard and unfair bargain.

Actually a good deal of the anti-Jewish feeling is stimulated by unscrupulous Negroes, and Axis agents—both white and black—who seek to exploit the Negro community's legitimate grievances.

A point which race agitators dwell on . . . is that Jews—a persecuted people—support the existing prejudice of the white community against black men. While it is true that as a group Jewish people in America have not adopted the Jim Crow attitudes of non-Jewish whites, there are among the Jews those who have followed the pattern in their thinking and daily lives and in the conduct of their business. . . .

Thus the Jews find themselves in an anomalous position. They are, as a group of people, generally among the most liberal elements in the white community. Yet to give full expression to liberal convictions is to bring down the wrath of the white reactionaries. Not to be liberal is to be damned by Negroes and all other underprivileged groups.

Negroes contend, however, that anti-Negro sentiments among Jews are indefensible. Yet the Jews have never been enemies of the Negro people; nor, on the other hand, have they ever presented a solid front with Negroes against the failure of American society to grant equal rights to the Negro. . . .

Without something approaching racial unity, the only other way to end anti-Jewish feeling among Negroes . . . is to get at the root of the Negro's social and economic problems. . . . Anti-Semitic agitators must be silenced and greater momentum given the movement to end anti-Negroism among the Jews.

ROI OTTLEY

New World A-Coming, p. 122-135

562. The sacking and looting of Jewish owned and operated stores in the Negro section (of Detroit) has led many observers to speculate on the extent and depth of anti-Semitism among Detroit Negroes. The fact that a few white owned non-Jewish stores and many establishments owned by Negroes were left unmolested gave some credence to the theory that the riot had pronounced anti-Semitic manifestations. . . .

. . . Detroit's colored population exhibited less anti-Semitism than the Negro communities of Chicago, New York, and of the other major American cities. . . . It is unquestionably true that anti-Semitism here has increased in the city at large and the Negro masses have been affected by this anti-Semitic propaganda. . . .

Besides the anti-Semitic propaganda which affects Negroes in some degree, the relationship between the Jewish merchants who have

more control over the business life in the Negro section than any other racial group and the Negro masses provides the Negro chauvinist with a base for operation. . . .

It is true that Detroit Negroes are often heard to complain of their gouging landlord and high prices, short weights, poor quality merchandise and charge the exploitation to "Jewish" practices. The Jewish merchants themselves recognized the need for combatting this sentiment several years ago and organized themselves into an association to promote good will between the two races. These efforts seem to be bearing fruit.

It must also be remembered that the vast majority of the Detroit Negro population is only recently removed from the rural South. Most of these Negroes who have come to Detroit in the last twenty years knew nothing of Jews and there were no organizations comparable to the Ku Klux Klan at work among them spreading anti-Semitism. Thus anti-Semitism among Detroit Negroes is a fairly recent development which has not proceeded as far as it has in Chicago and New York. Again, the character of the Negro leadership here mitigates against the growth of anti-Semitism. In trade union struggles and civic fights, Jews and Negroes have banded together and the leadership among Negroes recognizes the great merit of this common front of the minority groups. . . .

. . . Both the Negro and Jewish leadership in the City of Detroit recognizes that anti-Semitism among Negroes and anti-Negro sentiment among Jews are evils which can and must be wiped out. It is the belief of most of the leaders that Klan elements are being used to divide the people. . . .

LOUIS E. MARTIN

New Currents, August, 1943

563. One would like to believe that a persecuted people, itself victim of the maddest racial bigotry, would be immune to appeals to race-hatred which single out another minority group for victimization. But that's not the way it works. Misery likes company. Besides, who could blame a Negro if he were not averse to the notion of relinquishing his pariah status to another group. Let somebody else be the underdog for a change! Such sentiments may be neither general or conscious, but they would be all too understandable if they existed. Furthermore, there is a perfectly legitimate resentment among Negroes at the horror which anti-Jewish persecution arouses among circles which accept Jim Crowism, as a matter of fact. For instance, during the recent investigation of race prejudice in Lincoln Hospital, Negroes asked why the City Council of New York had not seen fit to probe into the exclusion of Negro physicians from city

hospital staffs. Besides, one does not have to delve into the complexities of the human psyche to discover why anti-Semitism should be able to make headway in Harlem just as it does in other sections of the country. There are purely objective factors in this congested, impoverished community which explain why the hate-monger can ply his trade with profit.

To begin with, a large number of the shops and stores in Harlem are owned by Jews. The small shopkeeper may be struggling to keep body and soul together, but he is the symbol of "property" to his poverty-stricken customer who generally buys on credit. The extensive installment business in Harlem contains a good many Jews. That means that the sorry labor of collecting a few dollars a month for an article of clothing or furniture falls to Jewish hands. Though the wretched, over-crowded houses are owned for the most part by Gentile real estate corporations, the renting agents are frequently Jews. Again that means that it is a Jew who duns the poor tenant for his excessive rent. One can hardly expect the tenant to make delicate distinctions between agent and owner. He reserves his resentment for the man who appears monthly at the door demanding cash or threatening dispossession.

Another sore point has been the existence of the notorious "slave-markets" of the Bronx, where housewives would engage domestic workers on street corners or park benches. Frequently the pay offered was shamefully low, and the Negro woman who worked for twenty cents an hour during the depression bore her employer no subsequent good will. LaGuardia's establishment of employment stations, as well as the rise in employment opportunities, has remedied this evil. But resentment at exploitation by some Jewish women has had unfortunate after-effects. The fact that the great majority of Jewish women are as fair and considerate as any other group of employers has not prevented the formulation of unjust generalizations. . . .

In view of the poverty of the community, anyone who has the economic rule of "middle-man," who appears as owner or creditor, no matter how insignificant his own income may be, is bound to arouse antagonism. It is, therefore, easy enough to understand how reactionary elements of every description seek to make capital out of the Negro's under-privileged position and try to deflect his resentment into channels politically profitable to themselves. . . . The classic technique of making the Jew the scape-goat for the Negroes' economic ills as well as "the Jews' war," in which the Negro is asked to shed his blood, is being utilized to the full.

The problem is by no means purely a Jewish one. This anti-

Semitic agitation differs from previous outbursts in that it has powerful hidden backing for a purpose of national scope. It is therefore of concern to everyone anxious about the infiltration of the fascist poison into any part of the American organism. Such measures as the arrest of anti-Semitic agitators are essential curbs. . . .

In a large sense, the situation calls for an educational campaign which should enlist every liberal group, Negro and white, that understands the significance of fascism's traditional entering wedge. . . .

MARIE SYRKIN

Congress Weekly, October 31, 1941

564. There was a riot in Harlem Sunday night. It was a riot of people goaded by their resentment of discrimination on the American scene. It was not a race riot. Negroes were not in conflict with whites. At no time was there any evidence of racial hatred. Sunday's riot has revealed many startling facts. A few are significant because they reflect the growing sense of unity between Negroes and whites—fair-minded whites and Jews in particular.

The crowds that swarmed through the streets made no anti-Semitic outcries. There were no slogans or posters decrying Jews. Stores were broken into because the people were angry and because some members of the crowds were thoughtless—and some were drunk. No one destroyed property because the owner was Jewish.

The whole riot was a thorough demonstration of the resentment that is always in the minds of Negroes over their maltreatment in the armed forces—over their isolation in segregated areas of residence, over defense work prejudice and the lack of . . . interest in their welfare.

Negroes know Jews are not to blame for American discrimination. They know some Jews are—and they know some Negroes are too. They also know that the American white man is more to be identified with persecution than anyone else. Jews have suffered the same mistreatment at the hands of white men and Negroes understand this. . . .

In this moment a real demonstration of Negro and Jewish unity will be the needed start towards general racial understanding. Jews have a great commercial stake in property and merchandise in Harlem. The most frequent of our minority sufferings make us kin. If we prove the fact of cooperation other white people will have standard to reach. . . .

BEN RICHARDSON

The People's Voice, August 7, 1941

565. The first question which comes up in this connection is how broad and deep is anti-Semitism among Negroes. Is it nationwide; does it have deep historical and socio-psychological roots, or is it . . . little more than a local ephemera—a passing fashion?

In answer it should be pointed out that anti-Semitism among Negroes in the United States is principally an urban phenomena. As an active element, it is virtually unknown in the rural regions, which still claim more than half of the thirteen million Negroes of this country. And in the cities, even of the South, anti-Jewish sentiments among the colored population is slight. The line down there is generally "white" and "colored." There is little functional differentiation in the thought of the Negro community between Anglo-Saxon, Jew, or Irish. "They're white and we're colored," is the usual view.

There is, to be sure, a small body of rhymes in the folklore, which stem from the anti-Jewish elements in the Christian tradition. But aside from their utility as carriers of verbalizations which later may be translated into active opinions, these folk-sayings have a limited significance.

It appears, therefore, that after all the exceptions have been noted, the conclusion is valid that anti-Semitism among Negroes in the United States is, in large measure, urban, Northern, and historically recent.

L. D. REDDICK

Negro Quarterly, Summer, 1942

3. PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

566. On several recent occasions Negro residents of Los Angeles have awakened to find on their door-steps pamphlets containing vicious anti-Jewish propaganda. . . . And in the Los Angeles post office, where white people, Negroes and Jews are employed, certain white employees have been known to approach Negroes with anti-Semitic talk, then to whisper violent anti-Negro propaganda to the Jewish employees.

. . . The attempt of the Nazis to create anti-Semitic feeling among Negroes, and anti-Negro feeling among Jews, is now more widespread than ever. . . .

. . . Obviously, the fifth columnist feels that there is something to be gained by turning one group against the other. Doubtless their plans to conquer the world would be seriously hampered if the two racial groups were to join forces against them.

. . . It may even be that an intelligent, whole hearted collaboration between Negroes and Jews would be the means of saving America from this threat. For it is certain that no more loyal Americans may be found than the citizens belonging to these two races—both of them the victims of prejudice. . . .

Let us join forces and erase the shadow of the Swastika from our land.

VERNA ARVEY

Opportunity, August, 1940

567. It is true that among a small section of the Negro people are to be found traces of anti-Semitism. Among the Jews—as well—there are those who are guilty of anti-Negro attitudes. Religious and racial bigotry is folly even for the majority group in this country. For minorities it is worse than folly. No Jew can take comfort in the ill treatment of the Negro without injuring the Jews. No Negro can find satisfaction in attacks upon the Jews without damaging the cause of his own people. . . .

Let no Jew remain silent while his Negro brother is denied the right to full freedom. Let no Negro fail to speak out against those who persecute the Jews. Let us unite for victory, for justice, for human brotherhood. The watchword, my brethren, is unity.

W. H. JERNAGIN

The Jewish Survey, August, 1942

568. Anti-Semitism is synonymous with anti-Catholicism, anti-Negro—anti- any-and-everything. For religious hate is cut from the same cloth as race hate. Today it is the Jew attacked, tomorrow the Negro or someone else. . . . In all instances of such outbursts of race or religious prejudice, the pillage, the desecration and the assaults are carried out by comparatively a few people. Unfortunately, however, these few often receive the support of many more of their group, either by actual encouragement or indifference to their wanton or hateful acts. A majority of citizens of any group are law abiding and decent.

Therefore, one way to help stop the wanton attacks on Jews in Washington Heights and at the same time curb anti-Negro activities by the same group that is molesting the Jews would be for the decent and law abiding Negroes, Jews, Catholics and others in or near the district to organize against the lawless and hateful members of any and all groups in the section. The quicker this is done the quicker the fearful growth of anti-Semitism and other kinds of human hates will be blotted out in Washington Heights.

An editorial in *New York Amsterdam News*, January 8, 1944

569. The Jews in America . . . must offer a helping hand to the Negro. We must put into practice a basic democratic ideal—all men are created equal. Unless you believe in equality—without exception—you are supporting Hitler's insane theory of race superiority. . . .

With equality as a basis, we can build our unity, show the Negro that we are his friend, that we need each other. But this can't be done by mere words. . . . The Negro doesn't need words . . . he needs jobs! We must demand that he be admitted into the few remaining Jim-Crow trade unions; the Negro must be given his share of white-collar and professional jobs. We must fight against segregation and discrimination; we must help the Negro fight for civil rights. . . . We must demand security for all.

LEON ZINBERG

Opinion, March, 1940

570. To make certain that the relationship between Negroes and Jews will always be the best, both people must use the maximum amount of common sense in their dealings with one another. It must be understood that there will be Jews and Negroes within each community who will typify the best in Jewry and best in the Black race. They will not necessarily represent all Jews or Negroes, however. And, too, there will be some people in these communities who will be more than likely representatives of the worst element of both races. These persons will not represent the masses of either race. This clear understanding must be maintained; there are good and bad people in all races and neither race has a monopoly on either. The religious differences between Jews and Negroes are not appreciable. . . . Both races have vital contributions to make to the common culture of America and the world. Neither can make his contribution completely without the help of the other. There is much in the Negroes' background which has made him a profound, mystical and practical being. . . .

Above all, neither must allow the cheap un-American elements in white or colored people to create adverse sentiments between them, on any account, because with such attitudes come conflicts and there are no two people on the face of God's earth to whom conflicts should be more foreign than Negroes and Jews.

BEN RICHARDSON

The People's Voice, September 18, 1943

571. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to point out . . . the experience of the Jewish and Negro peoples. Historically, their periods of slavery, oppression and "emancipation" as well as their responses to them reveal striking similar patterns. In the modern world this

is inescapably true. Black folk of Georgia appreciate the Jim Crow of German Jews.

And yet, there has not been a widespread or high consciousness of their common dangers among either Jews or Negroes. Unfortunately, so many members of these, as of other "minorities," have been content to fight their own battle with only a glance toward a potential ally.

This mutual apathy is underscored when the pages of Negro and Jewish publications are thumbed in search of discussions of the other's problems and triumphs. On the lowest level may be found those Jews who would classify themselves as "white" and join in the exploitation of the Negro, and those mostly urban Negroes who would classify themselves as "gentile" and give free rein to anti-Semitism.

To be sure, these anti-Semitic Negroes and anti-Negro Jews have, in recent years, received much more publicity than their numbers deserve. Too, the large ignorance and deep passivity mentioned above seem to be withering away before the doorstep threat of Hitlerism.

A great aid to this solidarity would be a steady stream of books, articles and other materials which would project vital experience in universal symbols—not narrowly racial or by exclusion, indirectly chauvinistic. One such work is *12 Million Black Voices*.

L. D. REDDICK

The Jewish Survey, January, 1942

572. The democratic duty as to Negroes is simply to count them into the democratic system—not to treat them as the Jews are being treated in Germany today.

The Negro is not counted in. He never has been. . . . The ordinary American doesn't include Negroes today when he talks about the beauties of democracy. There are even Jews and Catholics who, asking equal rights for themselves, feel annoyed when some "agitator" suggests that their problems and the Negro's problems are one and the same.

It sounded a bit melodramatic when *The Crisis*, organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, remarked that "Wide as has been the sympathy of the rest of the world with the plight of the Jews (in Germany), it is doubtful if any section or race has sympathized more wholeheartedly and keenly with the Jews than the Negro Americans, for they have known the same type of persecution ever since the beginning of America. . . .

... The Negro in the South is as the Jew in Germany, today. ...

Like the Jew in Hitler's Germany, he is a second-class citizen. He has only a part of the privileges of democracy. ...

The parallel between the place of the Negro in America and of the Jew in Germany is so close that it is well to insist again upon the difference in direction. We are growing out of the ghetto just established in days of slavery. The shibboleths of race prejudice are losing their old emotional domination. ... The South is escaping from its post-bellum inferiority complex, and with it from exaggerated fears of Negro domination. A new democratic school ... is asserting itself. ...

But ... we still have a habit of forgetting about Negroes when talking about democracy in America. And while we are resenting the plight of the Jews in Germany, we may well think harder about Negroes in America.

LEWIS GANNETT

Survey Graphic, February, 1939

573. ... Jews who desire their own rights must fight along with the oppressed everywhere. They must be among the friends of the Negro race, the oppressed minority in America, because intolerance is the same danger to human rights and freedom, however applied and under all different circumstances. ... The struggle of the Jew for emancipation must be first of all a struggle in which he is aligned with all victims of injustice in the search for a better world order, for the prevention of war, and economic oppression, for the reform or reconstruction of society.

LEE J. LEVINGER

Anti-Semitism: Yesterday and Tomorrow, p. 316, 317

574. As the two most persecuted minorities, Negroes and Jews are gradually coming closer together, slowly each is realizing that neither is safe from the enemy in isolation from the other. ...

In America organizations that resent Negroes resent Jews also. This has always been the case. ...

Historically there is precedent for the needed and desired friendly understanding and cooperation of Jews and Negroes in their common struggle to be considered Americans and world citizens.

BEN RICHARDSON

The People's Voice, July 24, 1943

575. It should be clear enough to Negroes—or any “non-Aryans”—that what Hitler did to the Jews is just what they may expect “if it happens here.” . . . When the Negro people raise the

slogan, as they have, "This is no racial war" this cry should be taken up by Jews and all others. Of all groups these two should be the first to see the fatal nonsense of any crusade against "the yellow peril," "Hirohito's slant-eyed hordes," or "the little brown men of the East," as the Japanese have been incorrectly labeled. . . . When the battles are all over these winds of racial hatred would return as whirlwinds within our own borders. . . .

At home, Jews and Negroes should insist upon a real "all-out" war effort. Every limitation on the maximum mobilization of men and resources deserves to be fought as a disservice to the nation. . . . When the Red Cross declines "Negro blood" for its "blood banks" this should be seen for what it really is: a step toward declining "Jewish blood," of "Catholic blood." Nevertheless, even if this other step is never taken, the social consciousness of all groups should be high enough to speak out against this slap in the face of any of our fellows.

On the cultural level, the Jew, Negro and other minorities should stand against "racial slander"; not simply, Jews against anti-Jewish slander or Negroes against anti-Negro slander and so on, but *all* against the slander of *any*. . . .

Finally, as between ourselves, now is a better time than most for the Jewish people to crush the callous exploitation of Negroes by some Jews and for Negroes to stamp out the violent, though ever-so-often superficial anti-Semitism among certain urban Negro communities. Perhaps America can furnish few more tragic absurdities than an anti-Semitic Negro or anti-Negro Jew.

Stated positively, the Negro and Jewish people have another chance to lock arms with each other and with all progressive forces within the nation to articulate and help implement the democratic impulse for victory. . . .

L. D. REDDICK

The Jewish Survey, February, 1942

576. . . . What can be done to root out these discords between Jew and Negro? Nobody expects an overnight miracle, but there are certain definite moves which should be made immediately.

In the first place, both anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism when discussed should be discussed *at the same time*. . . . They should be recognized as opposite sides of the same shield. It does no good for Negroes to charge Jews with anti-Negroism and deny anti-Semitism among Negroes. Conversely, it is wrong for Jews to demand that Negroes wipe out anti-Semitism and do nothing themselves to wipe

out anti-Negroism. Any approach to merit support must be a double-flank movement.

The direct attack upon the twin evils will carry with it a campaign of counter-propaganda. Negro leaders will have to assume the responsibility of pointing out to the Negro people until the issue can no longer be shrouded in confusion, that a money-grabbing landlord or merchant, who happens to be a Jew, is not a representative of the Jewish people. Rather, this exploiter is a representative of a system which has nothing to do with nationality, religion or skin color. He should be fought not as a "dirty Jew" but as callous landlord or dishonest merchant.

At the same time that these operations are conducted to deepen the understanding of this problem within the Negro community, leaders within the Jewish community will need to bring down the full pressure of their followers on the exploiters of the Negro people who happen to be Jews.

Above all, we need to recognize that anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism are only segments of the whole question of Negro-Jewish relations. . . . Elemental self-interest would dictate that Jews and Negroes "close ranks" immediately.

On the positive side, Negroes and Jews have much to offer each other. The Negroes have numbers. In addition to being the largest minority in the United States, there are some 250 million black folk scattered over the world. Their social consciousness is steadily rising. They would constitute a strong ally for the seventeen million Jews. The Jewish people, on the other side, have evolved certain survival techniques in their long history of suffering and struggle which the Negro people might well consciously examine and in certain instances boldly adopt. . . .

But the question is how, concretely, may these two groups be brought together? The first essential seems to be the need for the *Jewish and the Negro people to identify their struggles as one*. If this is done, almost all else will follow as a natural consequence; if this is not done, all other proposals are foredoomed to failure. . . .

The logical step to be taken now . . . will be the joint marshalling of the Negro and Jewish resources on every level. Specifically, all organizations for Jewish rights ought to incorporate the valid objectives of the Negro people in their programs. Likewise, all equivalent Negro organizations should incorporate all valid objectives of the Jewish people in their programs. Obviously this will give a broader base and more power to every struggle. It will also provide

a welcome relief from the particularism of each group yelling for its own rights—and with little regard for the threatened rights of others.

It goes without saying that the alliance will carry with it programs of education in terms of each other's history and culture. . . .

What is more, the Negro and Jewish people, after forming this union, will further widen its sweep, and thus join with all other minority, working class and progressive units who are interested in a positive struggle against human slavery and oppression and for freedom, equality and security.

L. D. REDDICK

The Negro Quarterly, Summer, 1942

577. Deep resentment exists among Negroes against Jim Crow regulations. . . .

Try this psychological trick on yourself. Whenever I cite an instance of Negro abuse, substitute the word Jew for Negro. Notice how your blood pressure rises. That is exactly the way Negroes react to abuse of Negroes. As Americans we should react with the same indignation over Negro as well as over Jewish injustice. . . .

Negro-baiting and Jew-baiting go together. Because Negroes have been race riot victims, we Jews, historic champions for justice, have not been unconcerned. When *any* minority is attacked Jews must rush to the rescue; must help safeguard all minorities. Some Negro leaders feel that the two peoples should enter upon a "united and aggressive struggle against Hitlerism at home." . . .

Many agitators among Negroes charge the Jews with the Negroes' housing plight. The false belief is prevalent in Negro neighborhoods that most landlords are Jewish. The legend of the "rich" Jew exploiting the poor Negro, is rampant in many Negro communities. Anti-Jewish feeling among Northern Negroes, says Roi Ottley in his . . . *New World A-Coming* is essentially "an anti-white manifestation." The potential of anti-Jewish behavior within Negro communities would be appalling if the situation is allowed to develop unchecked. . . .

To avert racial clashes now, and avoid them in the postwar period, we must strengthen the movements promoting inter-racial amity. We must help to secure full enfranchisement for the Negro and cooperate with him in the effort to break down all unfair economic barriers. Legislation—though not a panacea—must be adopted on state and national planes that will ensure fair employment opportunities to all minority groups. . . . The conscience of America must be aroused. . . .

RABBI J. X. COHEN

Congress Weekly, December 17, 1943

4. EXPRESSIONS OF JEWISH FRIENDSHIP FOR NEGRO

578. Outraged by the bloody events which have occurred in the City of Detroit, we, the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in the name of every cherished American tradition and very sacred principle of religion, raise our voice in horrified protest.

In the blood-drenched streets of Detroit and in all other recent manifestations of racial violence in America we see the same cruel hand which slays our American youth on foreign battlefields. In the rioting mobs of Detroit we find evidence of the same creed of barbarism which elsewhere seeks to erase the image of God from the face of the earth.

The spirit of Hitlerism has achieved a triumph on American soil, and in this tragic outbreak has scored a victory against the forces of democracy.

We demand that all those guilty of this horrible crime be brought to justice and that the forces of our government be called upon to ferret out those organized groups or individuals who have been responsible for inciting these race riots.

We urge that a competent public authority investigate the deeplying social and economic causes of this outbreak, and we call upon men of good will, both white and Negro in every community, to proceed forthwith to uncover these evils and injustices which have been gathering for some time and which have led to these tragic consequences.

Justice to the Negro, who has been the chief victim of these un-American riots, is as indispensable to winning the war against fascism and tyranny as are planes, tanks and guns. Without the protection of the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness to our fellow-citizens of every race, creed and color, our victories on the battlefields will prove to be hollow shells of substance.

In the name of all that is dear to the hearts of all of our people, we call upon all Americans to eschew all racial violence and hate, and to unite in the defense of our common heritage of good will, equality and freedom for all.

RESOLUTIONS ON ANTI-NEGRO RIOTS, ADOPTED BY
THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS
MEETING IN NEW YORK CITY, JUNE 23, 1943
Quoted in *New Currents*, July, 1943

579. . . . As we observe the American scene, we witness the universal allegiance and the religious teachings of the brotherhood

of all men. We find, however, that practice does not follow profession and that this belief breaks down, especially with regard to the Negro race. . . . Negroes are victims of harsh discrimination and flagrant injustices, which cry aloud to God and to man for remedy and redress. . . .

We Jews, who ourselves have been victims of injustice, should be especially sensitive to this. If our prayers and repentance, joined with that of Americans of other faiths truly touch us, if our souls will be truly cleansed, we shall proceed in cooperation with men of good will to remove barriers, to eliminate injustices which undermine democracy and weaken faith, to the end that the pleas of millions of useful, decent Americans for justice will be answered, and the will of God more firmly established in the land we love.

STATEMENT BY CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS
Jewish Survey, February, 1942

580. Just as the Jew considers the treatment of Jews in other lands as the measure of the liberal spirit, so must the treatment of the Negro and other minorities be the barometer of democracy in America.

RABBI J. X. COHEN

Quoted in *Negro Digest*, February, 1944

581. The Jewish stake in removing the blot of white racialism from American life is clear. Both self-interest and our holiest traditions demand our making common cause with the Negro in his fight for equality of status with the white. We too are a minority group and the tendency of dominant majorities to secure for themselves in hard times all the strategic economic positions affects us and the Negro in identical ways. Every totalitarian American movement, like the Ku Klux Klan, is bound to be directed against the Negroes, Jews and Catholics. But as religious Jews we appeal to our fellow-Jews on higher grounds than Jewish self-interest. "Ye shall remember that ye were slaves in the land of Egypt." White racialism is the rationalization with which it is sought to justify the permanent enslavement of the Negro in contravention of those rights which the constitutional amendments adopted after the Civil War guaranteed them.

In this purpose all Americans who cherish American democracy and are sincere in their devotion to the declaration of the equal rights of all men . . . will be with us.

The Reconstructionist, January 27, 1939

582. Shall we follow the policy of hush-hush, and minimize the seriousness of these acts of violence and these reports of discrimina-

tion? Surely we should have learned from the German experience that such appeasement only puts off the day of ultimate resistance. It is about time that the citizens of our country woke up to the danger of a living and threatening fascism. Anti-Negro acts, and anti-Jewish acts, at a time like this, are tantamount to treason.

It is equally important, however, to bring to light evidences of a different spirit in our midst. Recently, seventy-seven Negro Americans sent in a contribution of \$755 to the UJA in New York. This contribution was not the result of any formal appeal by the UJA to Negroes. It was rather, in the words of Mr. Lester B. Granger, Executive Secretary of the National Urban League, "a voluntary expression of these persons of their interest in the problem of their fellow-men of Jewish faith—a reaffirmation of our conviction that we are under one God, one people united in one cause." We are touched by this generous gesture, and we echo the prayer of Mr. Granger: "May this small gift stand as additional testimonial to the bond of friendship that must grow between two peoples with a glorious future."

This spirit—and not the spirit of Hillburn—will rid the world of hate, strife and war.

An editorial in *The Reconstructionist*, October 29, 1943

583. A misguided reader from the deep South has written in to protest against B'nai Brith's sympathetic action in behalf of Negroes. . . .

"We Jews," complains our correspondent, "have enough problems of our own to solve, without helping Negroes."

Fortunately, this individual reaction is not characteristic. . . . The cold truth is that there is no such thing as a Jewish problem in a vacuum. It is merely part of a much larger issue—the social problem. And although we must fight anti-Semitism every time it lifts its ugly head, neither the Jewish, the Negro, the labor, the foreign-born, nor any other of the problems which have long been agitating us can be finally and fundamentally solved until the social problem is solved. And central to the social problem is the matter of human freedom: freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom from ignorance and superstition.

So long as Negroes fail to achieve complete liberation, so long will Jews suffer discrimination, and so long as that is true, every other segment of the American people faces a threat to its liberties. For liberty is as indivisible today as it was in Lincoln's time, and no nation can long endure half slave and half free.

Either we mean human freedom when we utter the phrase, or

else we are hypocrites. And if we mean it, we mean it not for Protestants only, or whites only, or native-born only—but for all humans.

Editorial in the *National Jewish Monthly*, April, 1944

584. It is our opinion that Jews should be foremost in the practice of justice in dealing with the Negro and always vocal in protest whenever the Negro's rights are abridged.

Jews, by reason of the mandate of their ethical teaching, must abhor the economic exploitation of Negroes who are generally getting the short end of it everywhere.

By reason of their own insecure position in large sections of the world—even if there were no other or better reasons—Jews must be as ardent for the defense of Negro rights as they are of their own.

What group's rights are safe in a community in which there abides a spirit that denies the rights of any group?

Editorial in the *National Jewish Monthly*, April, 1942

CHAPTER II

NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS

1. ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO LIFE AND HISTORY 585.

Organized: September, 1915

National Headquarters:
1538 9th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Purpose:

To inculcate an appreciation of the past of the Negro and to bring about harmony between the races by interpreting one to another.

Activities:

Directs studies in clubs and schools; promotes the home study of the Negro by mail; produces texts on the Negro for schools and colleges; publishes magazines; collects and preserves the valuable documents of Negro history; promotes historical research; supplies libraries with special collections of rare books on the Negro.

Publications:

Journal of Negro History
Negro History Bulletin

2. NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

586.

Organized: 1909

National Headquarters:
20 W. 40th Street
New York, New York

Purposes:

To safeguard the full political, civil and legal rights of colored citizens and secure for them the equality of opportunity.

1. To end lynching.
2. To end peonage and the debt slavery of southern sharecroppers and tenant farmers.
3. To secure the vote for Negroes everywhere in the U. S.

4. To abolish injustices in legal procedure, particularly criminal procedure, based solely on color or race.
5. To secure equitable distribution of funds for education.
6. To abolish segregation, discrimination, insult and humiliation based on race or color.
7. To equalize the opportunity to work in all fields with equal pay for equal work.
8. To abolish discrimination against Negroes in the exercise of labor's right of collective bargaining through membership in organized labor unions.
9. To hasten the winning of the war and the peace by halting the dissipation of manpower brought about by discrimination in war industries and in the Armed Forces of the United States.

Activities:

Provides legal defense for Negroes deprived of fair trial because of their Race; maintains watch over all Congressional bills and resolutions affecting welfare of Negroes; for 24 years has been instrumental in keeping alive an anti-Lynching Bill before every Congress; awards annually the Spingarn Medal to an American Negro for "highest achievement"; successfully established the right of Negroes to attend universities in the South; rallies Negro voters to independent political action on basis of men and issues instead of party affiliation.

Publications:

The Crisis
The Bulletin

3. NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN

587.

Organized: December, 1935

National Headquarters:
 1318 Vermont Ave., N.W.
 Washington (5) D. C.

Purpose:

To disseminate information on the joint activities of Negro and White women and on those issues that vitally affect the lives of Negro women. To interpret the problems, the needs and aspirations of Negro women to themselves and to the community. To educate Negro women for, and to stimulate them to take full advantage of

all democratic rights and privileges. To build good will and mutual understanding through programs designed to promote better interracial and international relations.

Activities:

Fall in following categories: Public affairs, youth, family life, employment, religion, consumer education, and interracial good will.

4. NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

588.

Organized: September, 1910

National Headquarters:
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

Objects:

To bring about the coordination and cooperation among existing agencies and organizations for improving the industrial, economic and social conditions of Negroes and to develop other agencies and organizations where necessary; to make studies of the industrial, economic and social conditions among Negroes and in general to promote, encourage, assist and engage in any and all kinds of work for improving such conditions.

Activities:

Has branches in 51 urban communities; seeks to improve living and working conditions among Negroes; conducts surveys and research as basis for its services. During war and post-war period specializes in securing full use of Negro manpower in production and reconversion. Provides fellowships in social work and labor relations.

Publications:

Opportunity, Journal of Negro Life; also other special bulletins on interracial and community problems.

5. SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

589.

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, with its affiliated agencies, the Conference on Education and Race Relations and the

Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, merged with the Southern Regional Council in February, 1944.

National Headquarters:
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Purpose:

To improve economic, civic and racial conditions in the South; to attain through research and action programs, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension.

Publication:

The Southern Frontier, monthly publication, and pamphlet series.

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Book VI

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